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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Harijan Education in India

by

M.M. Thomas

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Master of Education

IN

Intercultural Education

Educational Foundations

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Fall, 1987

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Supervisor

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Date..July 3, 1987...

Dedication

TO Dr. A.D.Fisher

ABSTRACT

One of the most important problems facing contemporary India is the deplorable plight of the Harijans, otherwise known as the Scheduled Castes. They are the ex-Untouchables of India and they constitute about 16% (about 105 million) of the total population of India.

For centuries Harijans have been kept in perpetual bondage because of the number of socio-economic and religious sanctions. The upper castes, especially the Brahmins, who were the interpreters of sacred texts and custodians of all recognized knowledge, constantly reminded the Untouchables of the importance of strict adherence to the doctrine of "karma"(action) and "dharma"(duty or right behaviour). According to these doctrines the lowly status of the Untouchables was the result of *their* individual actions in their previous life, and the only way for them to escape it is to live out their present pariah life and perform their duties according to their caste alloted dictates. Individuals could then be born into a higher caste in another life.

After independence from the British the Government of India has been attempting to improve the socio-economic condition of the Harijans through Constitutional affirmative actions and various other government policies. Education has been one of the major avenues through which the Government has been attempting to accomplish this. In spite of all these efforts, the majority of Harijans continue to be at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy of India. Education has not produced an ameliorative effect for the large majority of Harijans.

This thesis examines why Government policies have failed to produce the results the planners and policy-makers have hoped to achieve. In order to explain the Harijan situation in modern India we have used the conceptual frame work of Paulo Freire (1968) and John Ogbu (1978). Freire's phrase "limit-situation" and Ogbu's concept "job-ceiling" when applied to the Indian situation show why Harijans continue to be at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy of India despite various government policies for the amelioration of their situation.

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There are a number of people who have directly or indirectly helped me for the planning, organization, revision and completion of this thesis. First, I would like to thank Dr. A.D.Fisher, my supervisor, to whom this thesis is dedicated, for providing valuble suggestions and assistance at various stages of the production of this thesis. I sincerely appreciate his patience with me and the time he has spent in reading, correcting, and editing several drafts of this thesis. Words are not sufficient to express my thanks to Dr. Fisher. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. R.Pannu and Dr. A.Thakur, two of my thesis committee members for their criticism, suggestions and encouragement for completing this thesis. Thirdly, I am grateful to Dr. R.J.Carney, Chairman Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, Dr. Peter Miller, former chairman, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, Dr. A.M.Decore, and Dr. M.K.Bacchus, professors, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, for their support and encouragement for the completion of this program at the University of Alberta. I would also like to thank Mrs. Barb Shokal, for helping me on several occasions during the course of my program at the Department. Finally I would like to thank my wife Rachel, and my two children Latha and Jimmy whose support and patience made this possible.

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
I. Introduction	1
A. Theoretical Approach to the Study	4
B. Social Mobility of Untouchables: A Review of Literature	8
C. Chapter Plan	9
II. Indian Society and the Socio-Political Roots of Caste Attitudes	11
A. Pre-British India	11
B. Mughal Rule and the Formation of Class Elements in the Social Structure	15
C. Caste System During the British Period	18
D. Post-Independece Period	22
Caste and Education	26
E. Pre-British India	26
F. Colonial Education and its Impact on Indian Society	28
G. Separate Schools for the Untouchables	38
H. Role of Colonial Education in Bringing Social Change During the 19th Century	40
I. Endogamous forces for Social Change and Reform	42
J. Post Independence Educational Situation	43
III. Government Policies Preceding Independence	54
A. British Land Policy as a Cause of Underdevelopment	55
B. Commercialization of Indian Agriculture	58
C. Destruction of Cottage Industries as the Cause of Underdevelopment	59
D. Deindustrialization of India and the Impact of it on Rural Employment	61
E. Backward Classes Movement of the Early 1900's	62
F. Beginning of Protective Discrimination	66
IV. Assault on Untouchability	72
A. 1920-1947: Gandhi and Ambedkar	72

B. Approach of National Congress towards Harijan Problems 77
C. 1947 and After: Constitution and State Policies 77
D. Educational Policies 81
E. Recruitment to State Services and General Employment 82
F. Special Electoral Representation 83
G. Other Institutional Arrangements 84
V. Policy Failure--Conceptual Explanations 89
A. Class Nature of Indian Education 94
B. Policy Failure due to lack of Structural Changes in the Society 96
C. Poverty 97
D. Lack of Primary Economic Base 99
E. Family Background 102
F. Caste Resistance towards Harijan Socio-Economic Mobility 103
G. Bonded Labour 107
H. Lack of Job Opportunities 107
I. Low Success Rate in Higher Education 109
J. Avoidance of Education by Harijans 113
K. Protective Discrimination: An Assessment 114
VI. Summary and Conclusion 125
BIBLIOGRAPHY 137

List of Tables

Table		Page
IV.1	Table 1	79
V.1	Table 2	91
V.2	Table 3	92
V.3	Table 4	111

I. Introduction

The role assigned to education in fostering social change in a modern society is well known. In fact, education has often been presented as the panacea for many of the socio-economic problems of underprivileged groups in many parts of the world. The constitution-makers of India, recognized the importance of education in building a democratic India which was based on the principle of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity and they have made large provision for socio-economic advancement through education of the backward classes of India, especially the Harijans. Both the central and the state Governments have made special legal provisions for the education and employment of the Harijans. The underlying principle has been that education will remove many of the disabilities Harijans suffer from and allow them to gain employment and improve their material status. In particular education has been viewed as the instrument through which Harijans can be equipped for a social structure in which status is determined, not by ascription but by individual achievement and worth.[1]

Article 45 of the Indian Constitution states that, "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."[2] Article 46 adds, "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice, and all forms of exploitation."[3] The role of education as the most important agent for social change receives further official confirmation in the documents of the Five Year Plan (1961-62). The preamble to the Third Five Year Plan opens with the following statement:

> Education is the most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress and in creating a social order founded on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunity. Programmes of education lie at the base of the effort to forge the bonds of common citizenship, to harness the energies of the people, and to develop the natural and human resources of every part of the country.[4]

The report of the Education Commission (1964-66) "Education and National Development"

says that for achieving "change on a grand scale . . . there is one instrument only, that can be used. Education . . . In fact, what is needed is a revolution in education which in turn will set in motion the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution."[5]

The proposal of educational planning for social change is an exercise in optimism. It is a political choice on the part of the constitution makers and the Government of India. They believed that social change could be planned and managed by the formation of purposive institutions guided by appropriately trained professionals with commitment to a common vision of the future society.[6]

This thesis will examine the political assumption that education will bring about the socio-economic uplift of the poorer sections of India, in particular the Harijans, otherwise known as the Scheduled Castes.

The study proposes to answer the following questions: Why has Constitutional affirmative action, particularly concerning education and civil service employment, failed to produce a positive effect on Harijan lives generally? Why are Harijans as a group still behind the general population of India in education? What are some of the "limit-situations" impeding the progress of education among them?

The study will attempt to demonstrate that:

a.The assumptions underlying the educational planning for the socio-economic improvement of the poorer sections of India were contradicted by the social reality of post-independence India, and therefore education has not been as effective agent for social change as was hoped.

b. In spite of the constitutional provisions and affirmative action for the uplift of Harijans, their social, economic and political situation has not changed much. Education has not served as a vehicle for socio-economic mobility in the caste/class structured Indian society. The low status of Harijans in the Indian society is the result of historical, political, economic and social functioning of the Indian society. Its primary cause has not been lack of education. Therefore, reforms and expansion of education could have no more than marginal effect on the plight of the Harijans. As Henry M. Levin puts it:

> When educational planning and reform is directed towards altering characteristics of a society that derive from the basic political, economic, and social functioning and structure of that society, the educational reforms and plans will fail to achieve their stated objective.[7]

Consequently what has happened in India is the reverse of the hoped-for process. Instead of reducing inequalities, state subsidized universal education has strengthened old inequalities and even created new ones based on income, status and power. This is because the assumptions underlying the special measures to expand Harijan participation in education did not confront the social reality of Indian society, a society which imposes serious limits on the socio-economic advancement of Harijans. The caste/class structure of Indian society has shown considerable capacity to resist change in the socio-economic conditions of the poorer sections of the society.

For example, today in India, there are three types of schools: the exclusive public schools for the very rich, the private or religious denominational schools for the middle class, and the government schools, a large majority of which are for the poor, including the landless Harijans. Most Harijans cannot afford the best education in public or private schools for their children. In other words, the socio-economic background of the child provides access to the best education in the country. As long as this situation continues, compulsory government schooling will not produce the intended results, educationally or socially.

Under the present structure there is little hope for Harijans to use education as a vehicle for mobility or to overcome their domination by upper classes. A more egalitarian society based on socialistic patterns, as dreamed of by the fathers of modern India, will not develop without removing the structural differences in power between the upper classes and Harijans. The Indian social structure is based on a graded hierarchy of privilege status where religious, economic, political and educational power increase in an ascending order with the Harijans and other lower castes concentrated at the bottom of this structure. The efforts since independence by the Government of India to improve the socio-economic condition of the poorer people have helped the upper caste/class elites in the field of education, politics and employment.

A. Theoretical Approach to the Study

In order to relate Harijan education to social structure, we propose to use the conceptual framework of Paulo Freire (1968) and John Ogbu (1978). The phrase "limit-situations" used by Freire, and the concept "job-ceiling" used by Ogbu when applied together to the Indian situation will demonstrate why Harijans remain at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy of India despite various measures adopted by the Government of India for their socio-economic improvement.

Freire's work, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, is the result of his experience with the poor peasants of Northeastern Brazil. His intimate contact with them led him to the discovery of what he calls the "culture of silence" of the oppressed. Instead of being encouraged to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world of oppression, they have been kept "submerged" in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were impossible. Freire realized that the national educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence. As a result of his concern for the oppressed, he developed a methodology for the education of the peasants of Brazil. This, he calls the "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (others have called it "metodo Paulo Freire"). The central theme of Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is that in order to liberate themselves from oppression, people need to overcome situations which limit them: "limit-situations."[8] "Limit situations" are circumstances or situations that limit human actions. But circumstances are not insurmountable obstacles. Llimit situation can be both subjective and objective. Subjective limit situations are beliefs, ideology, stigmas attached to certain occupations. Objective limit situations are lack of access to means of production, poverty, lack of access to education.

Freire says, " limit-situations imply the existence of persons who are directly or indirectly served by these situations, and of those who are negated and curbed by them."[9] He further states, "In order to achieve humanization which presupposes the elimination of dehumanizing oppression, it is absolutely necessary to surmount the limit-situations in which men are reduced to things."[10]

Freire believed that to struggle for their liberation, the oppressed must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world or an insurmountable situation, but as a limit-situation, which they can transform. Only when they have perceived the reality of their oppression, would it become a motivating force for transformation and liberation.

From a perspective similar to Freire's, Harijans may be considered the oppressed of the Indian society. The historic, social, economic, religious, educational and political disabilities from which they have suffered continue today. These disabilitites are coceptualized in the study as "limit-situations." The study asserts that Harijans' failure to achieve social and economic mobility through education and preferential employment is the result of these historic and present day "limit-situations"; subjective ones such as the stigma of pariah status and objective ones like limited access to the means of production. Only when the Harijans perceive the reality of their oppression as caste-based social injustice, could the oppression become a motivating force for their transformation and liberation.

Ogbu in his book *Minority Education and Caste* argues that Black children in the United States perform poorly in school compared to white children not because of hereditary factors, but because of the typical adult roles reserved for Blacks after school completion in today's American social system. He believes that the different positions traditionally assigned to Blacks and Whites in the United States affect the school performance of each race (differently). Ogbu discusses the relationship between education and adult roles and how this relates to school performance and socialization in the family and community. And he shows that differences in school performance similar to those found between Blacks and Whites in America can be found in other societies with similar system of ascriptive social status.

Ogbu argues that Blacks would have developed their potentials for linguistic, cognitive, motivational and other school-related skills to the same extent and in a pattern similar to Whites; a) if they were eligible for more desirable social and occupational positions, b) if they were given the same educational opportunities given to Whites, c) if they were to derive adequate finacial and other rewards from their education and jobs.[11]

Ogbu asserts that the caste-like lower status of blacks in America is reflected not only in the inferior education they receive, but it is also reflected in the kinds of opportunities available to them in the society they enter after they have finished school. He calls this pattern of the systematic exclusion of the Blacks from desirable parts of the occupational structure a "job-ceiling" a key concept of his book. A society or social system assigns menial or unskilled occupations and pariah status to members of a particular group. Ogbu attributes the poor performance of Black children in school to that assignment of status. He says that the same argument can be made in regard to the similar educational performance of Indians, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. He also attributes the educational performance of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in India to the "job-ceiling" there. He believes that these minorities in the U.S. and elsewhere need good education to obtain better-paid higher-status jobs enjoyed by the elite racial or ethnic groups. But neither the schools nor the society provid them with the opportunities to get it. The schools have provided inferior education and society uses a "job-ceiling" to prevent the minorities from benefiting from the education they receive.

The concepts of Freire and Ogbu will provide the analytical tool in this study to comprehend and articulate why Harijans as a group have remained at the lower end of the socio-economic hierarchy in India, in spite of the constitutional affirmative action and incentives for education and employment. Ogbu's concept of job-ceiling and the description of its operation is used here as it relates to employment in India's modern sector. Freire's limit situation will help us understand how the job-ceiling peculiar to Indian caste system operates for Harijans in modern India.

Eric Wolf has pointed out that the ownership of agricultural land and the organization of social labour in India for centuries has been along kinship lines, which enabled the landowning upper castes to lay claims for the labour of the Untouchables and low-caste groups restricting their opportunity for ownership of land or other means of production.[12] These are the historical limit-situations which have been and still are at work to the advantage of the upper caste/class while negating the chances of Harijans for share of the social energy

and economic rewards in the society. These situations still continue to operate to the benefit of caste Hindus and to the detriment of Harijans in modern India today. In other words, Harijans are in a deprived condition in modern Indian society as a result of the unequal access to social power and wealth in traditional India. The historical processes at work in India's social structure, such as land ownership and changes in the attribution of land title or restrictions placed on access to means of production and the power and wealth associated with production, created and now continue these conditions of deprivation.(see chapter III)

This suggests that Harijans cannot surmount the socio-economic barriers and educational restrictions which inhibit their success by government fiat alone. Because of their low ascribed status, they are denied access to desirable or rewarding adult roles or post-school experiences. The two concepts --"limit-situation" and "job-ceiling" -- will help us understand the causes for the few benefits of education among Harijans which results in low socio-economic advancement.

Although government jobs in India are formally open to all without respect to caste, and selections are made in "open" competition, the upper classes obtain most of the jobs because of their caste/class connections. These connections aid them in securing access to jobs as well as gaining the educational training on which competition is based. There is of course the anti-Harijan prejudices or stigma. As a result, Harijans end up in inferior jobs, jobs which are looked down upon by caste Hindus. Their underrepresentation in white-collar civil service jobs is attributable not only to their lack of education or training (in the "right" school or subjects) but to the impact of the job-ceiling. Thus the caste and the class structures of India prevent the Harijans from successfully competing for jobs for which they are qualified, if these are outside their usual occupations of sweepers, washermen, scavengers etc. Ogbu says,

> Caste-like minorities are either excluded from the most desirable occupations or not permitted to obtain their *proportionate share* of such jobs, solely because of their caste status rather than because they lack the requisite training. As a result of these restrictions, castelike minorities are confined largely to the least desirable jobs. In castelike societies, occupations are thus divided into two broad categories: those above the job-ceiling and those below it.[13]

B. Social Mobility of Untouchables: A Review of Literature

There are a number of studies analyzing factors relating to the slow socio-economic upward mobility of the Harijans. These studies could be divided into two groups. The first group made up mostly of anthropological studies, argue that because of the traditionally sanctioned low social/religious position of Untouchables in the Indian social structure, *Harijans* find it extremely difficult to gain wealth, power, and elevated social status.[14] Cultural variables such as religion, ritual, traditional values and endogamy must be overcome Harijan social disabilities.

The second group of studies attributes the socio-economic position of the Harijans to their lack of education.[15] Studies in this group suggest that due to lack of motivation, because of financial difficulties, familial background, poverty of the parents, or large-scale drop outs, *Harijans as a group* have failed to take advantage of the educational opportunities open to them in post-independence India. For this group, mitigation of parental poverty, improvement in financial background, improved job opportunities and expanded scholarship schemes would encourage the Harijans to utilize the educational facilities to greater advantage resulting in better socio-economic mobility.

These two groups of studies have created confusion over cause and effect in the problems faced by the Harijans in a caste/ class based Indian society. However, none of these studies has attributed the educational stagnation and lack of social mobility among Harijans to the historically specific experiences of this group which are conceptualized in this thesis as "limit-situations" and "job-ceilings."

Materials Used for the Study

The study is primarily based on secondary sources: books, journals, magazines and government publications. The writer's familiarity with the Harijan situation in India, particularly in the State of Kerala has helped to organize the study.

C. Chapter Plan

The study is presented in five chapters. Following Chapter I (introduction), chapter II discusses the Indian society and the socio-political roots of caste attitudes. Here we will examine the social structure of Indian society during the pre-British, the British, and the post-independence periods. We will also examine the educational situation in general and that of the Harijans in particular. The policies of the Government of India for Harijan betterment have to be viewed against this background.

Chapter III examines the Government policies preceding independence. Here we examine the British land policy, destruction of cottage industries, commercialization of Indian agriculture and how all they led to underdevelopment of Indian economy. We also discuss the beginning of protective discrimination and statutory safeguards instituted by the British Government in India in favour of Depressed Classes or Untouchables.

Chapter IV discusses the role of Gandhi and Ambedkar in assaulting Untouchability beginning in the 1920's and how their efforts have led to the abolition of Untouchability and the establishment of various other Constitutional provisions and other Government policies for the socio-economic uplift of the Harijans in modern India.

Chapter V examines why Government Policy failed to produce the intended results. Here we discuss the educational situation of Harijans in present day India, the limit-situations and job-ceilings, the two important factors, that limit the progress of education among them.

Chapter VI is a summary and conclusion of the study.

End Notes

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4 *The Third Five Year Plan* (New Delhi: The Planning Commsission, 1967), Chapter on Education.

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6 Henry M. Levin, *Educational Planning and Social Change* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1980), p. 15.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

8 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: The Seabury Press, 1968), p. 89.

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II. Indian Society and the Socio-Political Roots of Caste Attitudes

A. Pre-British India

Pre-British India was a collection of feudal societies. The caste system had taken hold of all aspects of village life by 1400. Villages in India were organized into hierarchical heriditary groups known as Jatis. Members of a particular caste or Jati were believed to share common ancestors. There were four main castes: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisiyas and Shudras (and a fifth, the Untouchables, or outcasts). There were also thousands of small endogamous hereditary groups, associated with one or more traditional occupations, or a particular style of life which might include customary rituals, manners, dress and diet. In other words, every individual in the community had a specific socio-religious ceremonial position and work appropriate to that status. The village community and the caste system provided "an unalterable division of labour,"[1] which provided the socio-economic security to the village population. However, the same system resulted in restricted opportunities for Shudras and Untouchables.

The dominant castes controlled economic and political life as landowners or warriors in the village. The dominant castes were ritually, economically and politically above the other village castes. Ownership of agricultural land and access to political power lay behind the position of particular castes in the local hierarchy. Kinship with the raja (or ruler) provided the dominant castes political power at the provincial level, which in turn enhanced their economic and ritual position locally. In each province, clusters of lineages held positions of domination, and at the center of these was the chief lineage.[2] Intermarriage was tolerated among the three upper castes which enabled them to consolidate and perpetuate their commanding position. Marriage proscriptions and local endogamy imposed "limit-situations" on the lower status Shudras and Untouchables. They were unable to gain kinship with the more powerful local land owners, and thus they were denied the access to power which this would have provided.

In the caste hierarchy the Brahmins were at the top because they had ritual purity. They officiated at religious ceremonies and were arbiters of standards of behaviour according to the ancient Sanskrit texts.[3] All the other castes were to look to them as models to emulate in regard to custom, ritual and manners. At times Kshatriya and Vaisiya could also be models to be emulated, since the former represented political power and the latter held economic power. The lower caste Shudras were divided into a great number of subcastes, each pursuing a particular craft or trade. Although the upper castes maintained their separation from the Shudras in marriage, eating, and other social intercourse there was a customary service relationship or economic tie between Shudras and the upper castes. The Shudras provided essential services as carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen etc.,. They were either tied to a particular landowning household or were in the service of landowning castes as a whole, and obtained something of a "guaranteed living."[4] Most village castes performed occupations that were subsidiary to land cultivation.[5] When village communities were multi-caste, customs and usage regulated inter-caste relations.[6] This is known as the "jajmani" system: (an ideal patron/client relationship). In this system, in the village, certain families performed the services for others for which they were paid in kind. For example, the landowners or cultivators received services from Shudra carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, barbers etc., who were paid in grain.

The feudal structure (ownership of land and the associated class structure) together with the caste system determined the occupational and social status of different groups in the society. Social groups were organized along kinship lines and kin-ordered mode of production. The social division of labour represented what Marx referred to as the Asiatic mode of production. Under this system village communities were based on a customary service relationship in which the serving castes like the Shudras and Untouchables were tied to the landowning upper castes. These landowning castes were feudal rent-receivers. Jatidharma (caste-obligation) determined the socio-economic structure of the village society. The village community system, caste ideology and the caste system were the over-riding features of Indian feudalism.

Indian feudalism, unlike the European feudalism, was not manorial and the peasant was not the landlord's serf. Under the kin-orderd mode of production there was little conflict between the landlord and the peasant over the disposal of land or provision of labour services. Since land was in abundant supply, peasant who was dissatisfied with his lord was able to move to a new territory under a new landlord. Jajmani ties with the landlord or chief of the dominant lineage prevented any major conflict between the peasant and the landlord. Kinship in the Indian context was a way of committing social labour to the transformation of nature. Social labour was extracted by appealing to people's kinship. Through kinship the landowning castes established rights to people and thus were able to lay claim to share of social labour. This type of feudalism was different from the European feudalism in which conflict between the lord and the vassals was a common phenomenon. In this system access to resources, primarily agricultural land, was restricted only to people with kinship ties to the landowning group. Kinship was established and maintained through marriage.[7] The circle of kinship was drawn tightly around the resource base by means of stringent definitions of group membership.[8] The chief of the dominant lineage and his followers were embedded in a kinship arrangement which made him the center of power of his kin group, and gave him the right to their social labour. Eric Wolf describes the kin-ordered mode of production, "The kin-ordered mode inhibits the institutionalization of political power, resting essentially upon the management of consensus among clusters of participants."[9] In other words, kinship rather than legal serfdom helped the dominant castes and their chief to "lock up" social labour in particular relations between people.

Filiation and marriage were used to include or exclude people who could claim rights to social labour on the basis of privileged and exclusive membership in a particular caste. Because of their claim to ritual purity and their membership in the varna system, the upper castes had claim to greater privileges in the society and access to scarce and strategic resources and managerial functions, while denying the same to Shudras and Untouchables. The upper castes had the rights to the services of the latter. Kinship also differentiated various groups in the society. The landowning upper castes used kin-ordained ties as a mark of its

distinctiveness and separateness leaving to the low castes only residual claims.[10]

Under such social relations of production, the Untouchables had no chance of gaining in social or occupational status. They were not allowed to follow or imitate the life-styles or rituals of the upper castes. This prohibition was maintained through legal and religious sanctions. Most of the Untouchables were confined to menial occupations essential to the society, but considered "polluting" by upper castes. Some of them were employed as agricultural labourers or lived as tenants-at-will of the land holders. They provided a pool of cheap labour for the landowning castes in the fertile Gangetic plains and in the coastal areas of the South.[11] Where ever they worked as agricultural labourers, they worked at the pleasure of the landowners. The functional specialization of different Shudra castes and Untouchables was based on the socio-economic hierarchical system.[12] In this system neither the Shudras nor the Untouchables had any chance of improving their socio-economic position. As Irfan Habib puts it:

> The caste system seems to have worked in its inexorable way to create a fixed labour reserve force for agricultural production. Members of the low castes, assigned to the most menial and contemptible occupations, could never aspire to the status of peasants, holding or cultivating the land on their own.[13]

Thus the organization of social relations of production and deployment of social labour had both economic and political dimensions, enabling the upper castes to have access to privileges, wealth, and political power, while the lower castes had access to none. The system, acted as a "limit-situation" for Shudras and Untouchables. Kinship and caste interacted to produce a system which confined the low-caste Shudras and Untouchables to menial positions. This oppressed and exploited them to the socio-economic advantage of the upper castes. This type of social organization of Indian village provided unity and cohesion among various castes in the village for centuries. It was not until the Mughal invaders were successful in defeating the kingdoms and establishing their power in India that this stability was threatened.

B. Mughal Rule and the Formation of Class Elements in the Social Structure

The Mughal administration, patterned after the Turkish model, gave great powers to the military chiefs known as mansabdars who formed a cosmopolitan elite[14] or aristocracy. They were in charge of collecting revenue for the Mughal regime. Mughal empire was divided into dependent states, whose rulers paid fixed tribute for control of the lands under their jurisdiction. The Mughal regime claimed legal authority over the land which was controlled by the dominant local caste segment and their kinship groups. This Mughal land management system permitted the leaders of the dominant local castes to lay legal claim to the labour and loyalty of their local kinsmen. However, there was no change in the condition of the Shudras and Untouchables under the Mughal regime. In fact the relationship between the Mughal and the upper caste further entrenched the Shudras and the Untouchables in their wretched socio-economic position in the society. They were still required to perform labour for the landowning upper castes when ever they were called upon to do so. Under the Mughals imperial power and kinship were joined together in the further exploitation of the Shudras and the Untouchables. The Mughal system of landownership, and the organization of social labour accordingly placed the Untouchables at permanent disadvantage, since it not only prevented them from owning agricultural land, but it also changed the customary relations to legal ones.

The Mughal emperor depended upon land tribute for his imperial revenue. This tribute was based on an elaborate system of measurement and assessment. Mansabdars, the military chiefs, were in charge of collecting tribute from areas under their jurisdiction. For these services, they were allowed to keep portion of the tribute collected if the rest was turned over to the imperial treasury. Between the Mansabdars and the peasants were the Zamindars, who were members of the dominant castes or chiefs of the leading local lineages. They now had hereditary patriarchal rights to receive tribute from a particular area.[15]

The Zamindars, the Mansabdars and the emperor himself, flourished at the expense of the cultivator, very often leaving him with little for his own subsistence. Percival Spear writes, "The State regulated production and took the profit. But it was a capitalism which thought

only of itself and squandered the fruits of the industry of the people in luxury and display."[16] Mughal regime, in short, added to the agrarian stratification of early India. As Robert Frykenberg puts it:

> For centuries beyond counting, there have been layer upon layer of landholders and tax officials below whom there have been more layers of subholders and revenue collectors. And at the bottom have been the hosts of manual labourers ready to do a day's work in return for day's food. Lords at the top of this many-tiered system have often demanded a half or more of each crop. Intermediate lords demanded equivalent shares out of what remained. Each lower level has had to struggle for smaller and smaller share of the crop, despite the fact that those at the lowest level have contributed most of the toil and sweat.[17]

And the people at the lowest level who contributed most of the "toil and sweat" often were the Untouchable landless agricultural labourers, the ultimate victims of the caste system, the agrarian stratification, and of class exploitation. Frykenberg's description of socially structured land control relationship describes the two extremes of the hierarchy of Indian stratification. At one extreme is the control of landlord over land and labour, absolute in authority. At the other end is the landless labourer complete in servility. The landlord or dominant groups who controlled the land belonged to the upper castes, and the landless belonged to the low-caste Untouchables. Landownership and caste membership reinforced each other and strengthened the hierarchy of the society. Irfan Habib classified the village population of Pre-British India into four groups. He calls them "social classes" and they are as follows:

> a.Zamindars, money lenders and grain merchants.
> b.Rich peasants.
> c.Majority of the peasants or cultivators.
> d. landless labourers, mostly members from the depressed classes.[18]

This stratification suggests landownership as the single most important factor in determining the village hierarchy.

Pre-British Indian society was highly stratified and the bulk of wealth, power and prestige were held by the small dominant upper castes. The Mughal empire and its administrative bureaucracy were instrumental in the perpetuation of this economic and social differentiation. The whole system of landownership, organization of social labour, collection of tribute and surplus and the exploitation of the peasantry and the Untouchables were

intricately linked to kinship-based socio-economic, ceremonial and political roles.[19] Ownership of property, access to power, status and prestige were attributed to an individual by membership in a particular local caste group. The low caste Shudras and Untouchables had access to none of this, because they belonged to the lowest order. Land control and land bondage were mutually supporting conditions,[20] and "all roles were interdependent in an architectonic whole."[21] Land control was the foundation of the "limit-situation" of the Shudra and Untouchable groups. The class-based division of Indian society at the end of the Mughal rule was the result of centuries of development of a hierarchical agrarian relationship among people who were engaged in agricultural production.

Before the advent of the Mughals, social status and land cultivation were close-knit, and complemented each other. Even when the village communities were multi-caste in composition, customs and tradition kept them together. Interdependence, the division of labour and the principle of reciprocity in common exchange and social relations helped to sustain the solidarity of each caste as well as cohesion of the hierarchical system as a whole.[22] It was a tight union of agriculture and hand industry which made the village economically independent of the outside world.[23]Mughal rule, in reality, destroyed the social harmony which existed between several castes in the Indian villages.

The revenue bureaucracy created by the Mughals caused the gradual disintegration of village as the primary social unit in India. The emergence of a class of intermediaries who combined traditional authority with the new role of revenue administration in the newly emerging power structure was the most significant change in social relations in the rural society under the Mughal rulers.[24] This resulted in corruption and fraud at all levels of administration. The reciprocal system which existed before the Mughals ensured the minimum socio-economic security for the artisan group and for cultivators. Under the revenue bureaucracy of the Mughals this was no longer the case.

The Caste system in some ways assumed greater rigidity during the Mughal rule. The Muslim rulers supported and encouraged the hierarchical system of social arrangement based on caste and Untouchability. Akbar tried to introduce Untouchability among his Muslim

nobility. The followers of Din-i-Ilahi, the religion established by him, were forbidden to dine with low-caste people.[25]

Mughal period also witnessed the development of numerous subcastes known as "jatis." Subcastes like Kayasatha, Koli, Candeela, Agarwal, Vacagoli, Bhar, Mehta, Mina, Bhila, Kohali, Khari and many others emerged as Jatis. These subdivisions created the basis for a large number of isolated communities throughout the Mughal empire. These communities tried to preserve themselves by retiring into their individual shells. Even Muslims were divided into castes which avoided intermarriage and social intercourse.[26] On the other hand during this period India saw the rise of great social reform movements led by people like Kabir, Ravidas, Dadu, Mira, and others who raised their voice against the caste system. They tried to ameliorate the condition of the Shudras and Untouchables. These reformers were mostly Muslims, because of this and Islam being the religion of the ruling dynasty, thousands of low caste people were attracted to the Muslim religion. In spite of this conversion to Islam, the caste system was not weakened and the position of Untouchables did no improve.

C. Caste System During the British Period

Mughal empire reached its apex during the reign of Akbar. His successors with the exception of Shajahan and Jahangir were weak and inept. They indulged in excessive luxury and intemperance. Aurangazib's religious persecution and his attempt to turn India into an orthodox Muslem state only hastened decline of Mughal empire. In 1647 the Maratha speaking population of Western Deccan under the leadership of Shivaji rose against the Mughals, and they became the dominant force in Deccan (now known as Utter Pradesh).[27] The Mughals also lost the support and allegiance of Hindu lineages and most of them became independent from Mughal authority. To make matters worse, the Mughal Nawabs in outlying areas began to expand their own power and to trade with the British East India Company which held a monopoly for trade in India from the Mughal emperor. With the death of Aurangazeb in 1707 Mughal empire faded. Civil war broke out in different parts of India and the powerful nobles emerged as Rajas. Aurangazeb's own children and grand children began to fight over

succession to the throne. Taking advantage of the collapse of political power in India, the East India Company consolidated its position and openly supported local rulers and acquired territory. By the end of 17th century, the stage was set for the English political power to ascend in India.

The British had established their power by 1800. The Brahmins along with a small number of other landowning upper castes dominated the social, economic and religious institutions of the country. The Zamindars, Mansabdars and other members of the landowning class who had connections with the Mughal rule commanded considerable wealth and power in the country. The country had divided into a number of small kingdoms most of which were ruled by a Hindu Raja or a Muslim Nawab. The mass of the people were poor, illiterate and politically unorganized. The Shudras and Untouchables were the poorest and most deprived groups--bound to the system by the laws of both "dharma" and "karma."

The Untouchables in most cases were required to live outside the villages. The majority of them were either slaves or indentured labourers in the service of the upper castes and were given, bought, sold and mortgaged like any other property.[28] In many parts of India they were looked on as "yahoos"[29] and they had no basic human rights. James Forbes mentions that a Maratha proclamation issued at Baroch in 1873 ordered that no individual member of the Untouchable castes (Halalkhor, Ded, and Chandal) should come out of their houses after nine o'clock in the morning lest they should taint the air or touch the superior Hindus in the streets.[30]

The British adopted a policy of "divide and rule." To this end they used all opportunities at their disposal including perpetuation of the caste system. As Kosambi puts it, "caste division was encouraged and used systematically by the British to keep India divided."[31] For them the allegiance of the upper castes and classes was of great importance for the continued exploitation of the Indian peasant and labouring classes to the British rulers' benefit. As a matter of fact, the policies of the British in India prior to 1857 were highly favourable to the upper castes. The Company tried to observe strict religious neutrality. The ruling authorities of the British were adamant about observance of of Hindu custom like

burning of widows. This was necessary for them to have the continued support of the Hindu orthodoxy.[32] When ever the Company introduced reform measures, it was with the intention of stabilizing the Company's rule. For example, the codification of Hindu and Muhammadan laws by Warren Hastings in 1776 resulted in the revival of reactionary forces in the Indian society.[33] These laws later became laws for Hindus and Muslims in matters of inheritance, succession, marriage and to all other family and religious matters. In fact British policies in many instances helped the revival of Brahminism which had been weakened as a result of the Bhakti Movement and other emerging forces for social change in the society.

By 1813 changes began to take place in the British policy. The Charter Act of 1813 abolished the East India Company's commercial monopoly in India and missionaries were allowed to operate within the Company's territories. Although the primary motive of the British in India was still commercial they were gradually forced to introduce social reforms like the abolition of sutte (burning of widows) in 1829. However, these reforms antagonized the orthodox Hindus. They led to the military mutiny of 1857. The mutiny in essence was the culmination of a period of socio-economic and political unrest caused by British policies in India. Some believe that the mutiny was the result of attacks on caste by the British rulers. There was also an increasing unhappiness and discontentment among the former feudal princes, Nawabs and their followers, many of whom had lost their political power as a result of British land policy and tax reforms. Thus religious fanatics joined with political and feudal power seekers and convinced the soldiers that their religion and traditional Hindu and Islamic ways of life were at stake. Although the British were able to suppress the mutiny and gain political control of India, it was a moral victory for the Indians.

After the 1857 mutiny the British took a series of measures to prevent the reoccurrence of a mutiny. The Indian army was completely reorganized, making one-third of it British, giving all Commissioned Officers' positions to British soldiers. Attention was also paid to the distinction of caste, separating regiments from one another on the basis of their religious and caste affiliations.

Measures were also taken to pacify the orthodox Hindus. The East India Company was deprived of its power to govern in 1858, and the British Crown assumed the responsibility of governing India. A Viceroy was appointed as Queen's representative in India. The proclamation of Queen Victoria on November 1, 1858 reiterated the religious neutrality of the British administration and promised non-interference in the beliefs and practices of the Hindu religion.

The British also tried to pacify the upper castes through introducton of western education. Because of their socio-economic advantages, the upper castes soon exploited the new educational and economic opportunities and improved their position. The lower castes including the Untouchables remained where they were. Again during the 1900's when the British introduced political reforms by slow degrees by giving representation to Indians in political bodies at different levels, the upper castes, particularly the Brahmins gained advantage from them because they were intended only for the educated elites.

By 1930's there was a shift in the British policy towards the lower castes particularly Untouchables. The British by this time realized that they could no longer depend solely on the educated elites of the upper caste/class for the continued maintenance of British empire in India. Therefore, they turned to the lower castes. In 1932 Untouchables received major concessions from the British. These concessions were in two areas: political representation and special privileges and protection in the matters of education and government employment. These provisions were later embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, which gave the Untouchables "Scheduled Caste" status.

On the whole the policies of the British in India were orchestrated for the expansion and continued maintenance of the British empire in India. They were not motivated toward transforming Indian society by modifying the caste system or by introducing Western education on a mass scale. Maintenance of the caste system, as well as the introduction of Western education and various other measures introduced piecemeal to pacify Indian nationalists and other liberal elements in the society were all aimed at consolidating the British empire in India. They used different groups in the society to achieve this end--first the upper

caste/class elites and then the lower castes, including the Untouchables. The British never had a strong socio-economic reform policy for India; they had a permanent interest in the continuation of their imperial power in India.

D. Post-Independece Period

Caste has undergone major changes during the four decades since independence. In the past, as we have seen, structural distances were maintained among castes in matters of marriage, dining, and social interaction in general. Endogamy maintained these structural distances between castes. The whole hierarchical structure of the past was upheld by secular and religious sanctions. Today many of these strength have lost their traditional significances because of the emergence of new divisions of status, power and privilege in society based on education, employment and income. Social inequality based on caste is less important today than it was fifty years ago. The Brahmins throughout India have had their traditional superiority diminished, and their power based on claim to knowledge and access to sacred religious texts reduced. Western secular education introduced by the British has created new elite groups in India, particularly among civil servants, army officers and business executives. Selections to and employment in the most powerful and highest ranking civil service positions such as I.A.S.(Indian Administrative Service), I.F.S.(Indian Foreign Service), I.P.S.(Indian Police Service) I.E.S.(Indian Economic Service) carry enormous prestige and privilege to the extent of sometimes replacing the old caste hierarchy.

The former rigidity with which caste was practised in Pre-British and British India has been reduced. Customs based on purity and pollution which have differentiated in the past tend to have less importance today. More over, modern institutions force members of different castes to eat in the same restaurant, drink from the same public water source, and work in the same office or factory building. Caste homogeneity is no longer the case in the selection for occupations. People are most often employed on the basis of educational qualifications and training. People belonging to different castes are forced to work together and Castes in India today cease to be exclusive occupational, commensal or administrative

units. Today, in many parts of India, middle and lower castes have come together to gain access to jobs, concessions and other benefits from the government by assuming the characteristic of a class system. Infact, in many parts of India, middle and lower castes have come together as a conglomerate body in the domain of access to jobs, concessions and other benefits from the government, to the extent of assuming the characteristics of a class system.

Similarly, considerable change has occurred in the ownership of land and other means of production. Today in many parts of India there are no dominant land owning castes as such. During the 1930's in Kerala, the dominant castes, particularly the traditional caste Hindu sections controlled the largest share of landed property. Census figures show that Brahmin households held an average 15.6 acres of wet land per owner and 12.89 acres of dry land, where as households belonging to other castes held land varying roughly between 1 and 3 acres.[34] Figures for 1971-72 show that only 3.29% of Brahmins own more than 2 acres of land.[35] If we look at other states in India we may be able to see similar patterns. Studies by Beteille, Bailey, Gough, Sharma[36] and many others show that the former landowning castes have lost some of their property, power, and prestige. Today ownership of land is vested in people with diverse social and economic origins, much of the land being parcelled out in small lots.[37] The majority of the people engaged in agriculture in India are not owners of land. They work on land owned by others, not solely the upper castes and this constitutes the basis of economic and social ties between different castes and classes of people in the village. The disappearance of the landowning caste or Zamindars in India therefore, is a major trend in social change in India.

Another major trend in India is the change in the power structure of the village. In Pre-British India, power within the village was closely linked to land ownership and high ritual status. Until the mid 1940's and nearly 1950's Brahmin Mirasdars (otherwise known as Zamindars or Jajmans) were dominant. Today power is concentrated in the hands of non-Brahmins, at the Panchayat level (local government) because majority of the members of the panchayat councils are often non-Brahmins. Caste and landownership are not the only factors in the control of these political bodies. Political party membership, contacts with

officials, and other institutional ties of patronage are factors which play an increasingly important part.[38] Traditionally the three upper castes--Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisiyas controlled political power in India. Their power was based on hereditary wealth and ascriptive status. Today this has changed in that power based on ascribed status has given way to power based on political numerical strength,[39] but not to the exclusion of class-based power.

Nevertheless, caste has played a role during the last several General Elections in India. The major political parties woo the numerically significant caste groups including especially the Harijans. (The study by Barbara R. Joshi clearly indicates that "block voting" is a feature of Scheduled Caste voting behaviour).[40] The return of Communist Government in the State of Kerala on several occasions was attributed to Harijan votes. Communist party in Kerala has been successful in winning large number of Harijan votes which has helped them win elections. In several States in India, especially in the Southern States of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Mysore, caste has exerted strong political influence.[41]

In modern India a whole range of changes has occurred in the occupational structure. Although caste is not a criterion for selection for jobs, there is a concentration of upper castes in top executive positions because of their control of education and social resources. The avenues to social mobility are still constricted for the Harijans. Job-ceilings and other social sanctions are still applied against them (see chapter 5 for detailed analysis). But job opportunities in general have become greater and more diversified. The different occupational strata are no longer homogeneous in caste composition.

In the traditional caste system caste mobility was a rare phenomenon. But in contemporay India there have been instances of group efforts to elevate themselves in the ritual position of castes.[42] This process has been called "Sanskritization."[43] It is a collective behaviour for a group to achieve upward mobility, the process entails taking over or emulating the customs, beliefs and rites of Brahmins and the adoption of Brahminical way of life by a lower caste.

Another form of change in caste hierarchy by a low caste is "Westernization,"[44] which is seen as the acquisition of Western education and Western life-style and dress. Through

Westernization and modern sector employment low castes and their members have moved up in the caste hierarchy.

Today in many parts of India Harijans and other "backward" classes are becoming increasingly militant and insist on receiving benefits guaranteed them by the Constitution (see chapter 5 for details). But at the same time the upper caste educated youths, who do well in examinations, only to find themselves by-passed in employment by Scheduled Caste members with low marks and become bitterly anti-Harijan. Faced with such a situation Srinivas envisages increased caste conflict as part of social change in India. He says: "I envisage in the immediate future increased conflicts between caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes in every part of India irrespective of the party in power. I am afraid the Indian road to equality is going to be marked by bloody clashes between different castes."[45] R. Schermerhorn also while making a more general observation in this connection says:

> In the villages of India, any departure from authorized behaviour by Scheduled Caste members may quickly be regarded as a threat to a whole system of approved conduct(dharma) and to those in position to enforce it. The natural response is to suppress and restrain (by violence if necessary) those who step out of their 'place' as defined by caste rules of immemorial sanctity.[46]

Andre Beteille, after viewing the future trends in Indian caste system, along the same lines predicts that," When Harijans are more or less evenly matched in numerical strength with caste Hindus, a certain amount of tension or even violence is likely to become a part of the system."[47]

The spectre of caste-riots reported in various parts of India in the late 1970's and early 1980's indicate this trend. The communal violence occuring in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Ahmedabad, Bombay[48] and in other parts of India points to another related situation where Harijans are often victims of inter-caste violence or aggression.

The cummulative result of all these assault on Harijans and backward classes has made the situation so explosive that an incident is sufficient to bring about a general outbreak of violence. The violence which set whole districts of Marathwada ablaze was sparkled by the decision to rename the Marathwada University, Dr. Ambedkar Marathwada University.[49]

As mentioned before, there has been a considerable decline in the importance attached to the concept of purity and pollution and inter-caste relations, but untouchability is still a fact of life. In spite of Panchayat Raj, the Green revolution, and even modern education caste has neither been renounced as an important principle of social stratification[50] nor has it weakened from changes in recent decades.

Our discussion of trends of social change in modern India points to two important aspects. First, social change in India is taking place along traditional lines. This involves the incorporation of traditional elements of caste system into the modern State institutions. second, changes are taking place along secular lines which involve the incorporation of ideas and values which are opposed to traditional ideas of Hindu society. But in the specific case of Harijans these two avenues have not provided much social change because of the effects of "job-ceiling" and "limit-situations."

Caste and Education

E. Pre-British India

The Indian population of the pre-British period was organized into hierarchical endogamous groups which followed a particular vocation or calling in life. The system permitted the sharing of status, and wealth among the three upper castes--Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisiyas. The low-caste Shudras and the Untouchables were prevented by force of custom from having these privileges. They were required to serve the upper castes. There were religious and socio-economic sanctions which prevented the low social strata from participating in the socio-economic and religious life of the village, keeping them near slavery.

Education in this society was aimed at reproducing the elite. Knowledge or learning was considered their prerogative. The educational institutions were closed to other members of the society. Upper caste membership was the primary prerequisite for receiving any form of education. In the Gurukul system of education (education in the family of the teacher), students were almost entirely upper caste. Kinship or quasi-kinship ties with the teacher or his

caste were the basis for admission to the Gurukul. Here again, as in all other forms of elite education in Pre-British India, such as Parishads (academy of Scholars), and Sammelans (Conferences of scholars), learning was restricted to specific groups in the society. Only boys from the twice-born castes were eligible for Gurukul education, and most of the students were expected to pay the teacher Guru dakshina (gift to the teacher). Shudras and Untouchables were excluded from Gurukul education because of their low-caste status and their poverty. Since teachers were mostly from Brahmin castes, Untouchables were not allowed entry to the teacher's house to receive instruction from him.

Formal education was not organized by the State and the upper castes had their educational institutions, mostly attached to temples or mosques. Their education was closely tied to religion. Education was a means of propagating religion, and religion and education were closely intertwined. Education was regarded as a means of salvation, the means of attaining the highest end of life viz., "Mukti" or emanicipation.[51] It was based on oral tradition which was passed from generation to generation in the form of mantras or sutras.[52] This process isolated knowledge from the lower castes.

Sanskrit was the language of the Vedas, Sutras, Upanishads and other religious texts. In addition, formal education conveyed familiarity with the Sastric tradition which included a study of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, logic, philosophy, astrology and various Sastras, particularly the Dharma Sastra.[53] But all this was reserved to a privileged few. Not even all the Brahmins received this education. Most Brahmins received minimum knowledge of religious texts and rituals, which allowed them to earn their living as village priests.[54] Some Brahmins pursued agriculture related occupations, tilling the land themselves or hiring Shudras or Untouchables. The Brahminical centers of learning which were technically open to all twice-born (dwija) castes, attracted mostly Brahmin students.[55] These centers were institutions for the reproduction of the elite who were bearers of Brahminical traditions of knowledge and scholarship. Since Kshatriyas were of royal lineage, their education was mostly at the courts of rajas, including the Mughal courts and given by tutors or preceptors.[56] Vaisiyas were thought not to need the elaborate system of education offered at the

Brahminical centers, because they had to acquire their professional skills through apprenticeship working in the family guilds. In other words, formal education in Pre-British India was only for the upper castes, and primarily for Brahmins.

However, another parallel system of education existed among the Muslems. They got their education through Maktabs (primary school attached to a mosque to instruct boys in the Koran) and madarasahs (school of higher learning). The purpose of Muslem education was to propagate the Islamic faith. Although the study of Koran was open to all males, only Moulvis had the right to interpret and expound it. In other words, Moslem education was elitist.

Education focused on maintaining the caste/class stratification and existing religious dogmas. Education was not to impart secular knowledge. But it provided ritual training for the small elite who intended to become priests, rulers, bureaucrats, and men of letters.[57] People who pursued occupations of lower prestige were thought not to need education. It was a luxury afforded only by the rich. The low-caste Shudras and Untouchables did not participate in this education because of their depressed social status, and poverty. More over the need for food and shelter for them was more immediate and pressing than the need for the elite education. In short, education in pre-British India was selective and was used by its beneficiaries to maintain social stratification along caste and class lines.

The craftsmen such as Shudras had their practical education at home in the domestic group and education here reproduced technical skills and knowledge of the trade or calling rather than teaching of religious texts.[58] The joint family was conducive to this type of education. Knowledge and skills in a particular trade or occupation were passed from one generation to the next, thus maintaining a link between kinship and occupational system.

F. Colonial Education and its Impact on Indian Society

During the early years of their rule, the British did little to alter the educational situation in India. The East India Company undertook no educational activity for the first 100 years. The Company, a group of merchants, was involved in commercial activities. As J. P. Naik observed, a body of merchants cannot be expected to educate the people with whom they

traded.[59] Even missionaries were discouraged from engaging in educational activities. The Company wanted to gain the allegiance of the upper caste elites to assist in the establishment of its hold over India. Missionaries were a threat to this since their activities could offend the religious beliefs and practices of the upper caste elites. The East India Company was interested only in expanding its commercial empire in India without making any changes in the social system existed in India. The policy of the Company was to extract as much wealth as possible from the Indian agricultural and craft producers and give little in return.[60] Even after the East India Company had become well established in India, the policy of the Company was to discourage the education of the "Natives." This was illustrated in 1792 when Mr.Wilberforce proposed to send English school masters to India there to educate the "Natives." On that occasion one of the directors of the Company said:

> we had lost America from our folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India; and that if the Natives required anything in the way of education, they must come to England for it.[61]

This policy continued until 1813. The Company officials were afraid that education would lead the Natives to a consciousness of their own strength[62] which would weaken their control over India. By 1813 the situation had somewhat changed and the Company was forced to encourage education for Indian subjects. The Charter Act of 1813 compelled the Company to accept responsibility for the education of some Indians and to increase its expenditure for this purpose.[63] The Charter also asked the Company to admit missionaries to India for spreading western "light and knowledge."[64] The Charter Act was the beginning of the history of formal western education in India and many say it was the beginning of the State assisted system of education in India.

By 1830's missionaries were encouraged to build schools in India. Primary schools in India were seen as a means to get to secondary schools and universities, which in turn helped the elites to get administrative positions in the colonial civil service. Fees charged in the primary schools were so high that only the well-to-do sections of the Indian society could afford it. In 1832 the Charter of East India Company was abolished and the Company became a purely administrative body known as the Government of India.

The Charter Act of 1833 included provisions to encourage English education and employment of the colonized in the Company's service. The Act contained the famous principle that:

> no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.[65]

This policy resulted in the growth of education in colonial India. The Company's educational grant increased from £10,000 in 1813 to £100,000 in 1833.[66]

The British did not introduce western education to India because they wanted to enlighten the Indians and improve their socio-cultural conditions, rather, it was based on economic and political considerations. The purpose of British education in India was to control, not to change India.[67] The British wanted to control the Indian subcontinent politically and to keep the people of India economically dependent on Britain through English education.[68] The British educational policy implemented by the East India Company, and later carried on by the colonial government was to create and maintain the political authority of the British in India.

The commercial activities of the East India Company in India were of such immense size that they needed large numbers of educated people to fill subordinate roles in the Company's administration. They also needed educated people to administer the conquered territory and to staff the immense machinery of political administration. It was physically impossible to recruit sufficient numbers of people from England to fill these jobs. The British had no choice but to train local Indians, reserving the key administrative positions for the British. Administrators like Lord Curzon wanted to keep the Indians out of the more powerful positions in their administration. He complained to Lord Hamilton, Secretary of State:

> Some day I must address you about the extreme danger of the system under which every year, an increasing number of the 900 and odd higher posts that were meant and ought to have been exclusively and specially reserved for Europeans, are being filched away by the superior wits of the native in the English examinations. I believe it to be the greatest peril with which our administration is confronted.[69]

It was both politically and economically expedient for the British to establish schools and colleges in India. They knew full well that education would make the Indian students aware of

their deprived condition and the impact of foreign domination. Therefore, the British were very cautious in their approach to Native education. This caution of the Britsh finds clear expression in the statement made by J. Farish, a member of the Bombay Government in 1838:

> The Natives of India must be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are wise, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have. If well directed, the progress of education would undoubtedly increase our moral hold over India, but by leading the Natives to a consciousness of their own strength, it will as surely weaken our physical means of keeping them in subjection.[70]

This statement indicates that the British were "forced" to introduce Western education in India for their own advantage knowing full well that some day it will work against them. Being astute opportunists as they were, they took the gamble.

Yet another political aim of the British system of education in India was to win the confidence of the upper castes and to pacify the indigeneous elite,[71] who lost some of their political influence when the British conquered India. The British needed the allegiance of these classes for the continued exploitation and political domination of India.

The British wanted to create an elite among the upper castes who would serve in their administration and be loyal to the British Raj, and thus provide a supportive political base for them in India. This English educated elite was supposed to serve as middle men between the British top administration and the important elements of Indian society. This was the backbone of British educational policy in India.[72] This policy created a barrier to the masses, especially among the Shudras and Untouchables in regard to education (and liberation). This allowed the upper castes to perpetuate the socio-economic and religious superiority they held in the traditional caste hierarchy. Lack of education, among other things, closed all opportunities for Untouchables to improve their social and economic position through employment in British India.

Colonial education planned and carried out by the British in India was to fit the upper caste elites into roles defined for them by the British. This was not a system of mass education nor had it a place in it for the education of the Untouchables. Lord Macaulay in 1858 summed up the whole British policy of education in India in the following words: "We

must at present do our best to form a *class* who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern: a *class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.*"(author's emphasis)[73]

Lord Macaulay's statement indicates his view that the system of education which the British introduced in India was meant for the upper caste/class elite of India who already had the benefit of traditional education. In other words, the old process continued, except that Sanskrit and Arabic were to be replaced by English language and literature. Lord Macaulay was probably the first colonial administator to articulate the "Englishification" process.

Macaulay did not believe in imparting an education to the masses. He wanted to educate a "class of people" who in turn would educate the masses. He said: "Our work is to educate the school masters for the next generation. If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and *without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers.*" (author's emphasis)[74]On July 13, 1837 Macaulay wrote:

> *We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of the country. We aim raising up an educated class* who will thereafter, as we hope, by means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge we have imparted to them.(author's empasis)[75]

This illustrates that during the early stages of British education in India, education was aimed at a small number of the people, the upper classes, and who in turn would educate the masses. This elite education was the vehicle by which the modern "limit-situation" mentioned earlier would be imposed. This policy of the British is known as the "downward filtration theory." According to this theory, "Education was to permeate the masses from above, drop by drop from Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and sately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains."[76]

For this the British naturally turned to the upper classes and castes. These elites already had religious sanction for their status and now they had priority in secular education. The British did not want to create an elite class from among the lower castes like Shudras and Untouchables. In fact, they abhored such a prospect. In Bombay, when Elphinstone found that the missionaries had their best pupils among the lowest castes to whom they were extending European education, he observed in alarm "in that case we might find ourselves at

the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them."[77]

This was the official view of the British about education of the Untouchables. It was a "limit-situation" the Untouchables could not overcome. The colonial order was built around the principle of institutionalized inequality,[78] first favouring the Europeans and then favouring the indigenous caste and class elite. The British policy in combination with the caste attitude worked against idea of improving the education for the lower cates. The downward filtration theory proved detrimental to the development of a popular education system in India. The class of educated people which emerged as a result of English education were aloof from the rest of the society. Most of them found employment within the British Raj and they did not wish to educate the masses. This educated upper class/caste used their English education to enhance their own holdings of agricultural lands, and other means of production. Some of them even prepared themselves for post-independence political office. K.C. Vyas accurately describes the final outcome of English education in India :

> The theory [British] of "filtering down" was an evident example of wishful thinking on the part of the Government. After intense English education, the educated were practically cut off from their surroundings. For all practical purposes, in manners, clothes, language and tasks they became English-minded and developed a dislike for those who, unlike themselves, had not taken to an English education. *Obviously*, such persons would never return to the illiterate masses.(emphasis in original)[79]

The British colonial rulers created a demand for English language education by hiring English-trained natives to serve in the bureaucracy of the administration. As Martin Carnoy puts it:

> The British had to force a cultural transfomation of the Indian population to develop loyalty to Britain and to serve as intermediaries to uneducated and unassimilated Indians. A top-heavy bureucracy and educational system was created to carry out this project. Cottage industries were destroyed without incorporating artisans with their skills into the new structure. For the British, "development" in India meant controlling Indian resources for British use, and education was structured to achieve that goal.[80]

In short, the British education policy in India led to the development of a caste/ class society which, as seen before, had its roots in the pre-British caste-divided India. The British system simply expanded to suit the British and benefit the upper castes, who were the landowning and trading classes in the Indian society. This class differences deriving from English

educational differences paralleled caste differences from traditional Indian life.

This policy resulted in the establishment of a number of private or independent schools modeled after the English public schools. These schools were intended for the sons of the upper classes, who would eventually become the junior administrators under the British.

The British never seriously considered improving the condition of the masses through education. What ever educational reforms, by the British, were introduced in India , they were motivated by self-interest. This policy is clearly evident in the following statement:

> ...that it was in the best interest of England herself to educate the Hindus and Muslims. Such education would bring about better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, would secure the gratitude of the Indian people and would ultimately lead to a greater extension of British commerce in India.[11]

It was also in the British interest to keep the masses ignorant so they would not realize the full significance of foreign domination and economic exploitation. Viceroy Lord Curzon in 1907 said:

> The Government of India must remain autocratic; the sovereignty must be vested in Britsh hands and cannot be delegated to any kind of representative assembly. No such assembly could claim to speak on behalf of the Indian people so long as the uneducated masses, forming nearly ninety percent of the adult male population, are absolutely incapable of understanding what representative government means and of taking any effective part in any system of election.[12]

And the British wanted to perpetuate this situation, so they could continue to dominate and exploit India. The political ignorance and illiteracy of the Indians contributed to successful British imperialism in India. The British knew that as long as the masses remained illiterate and ignorant of foreign domination, their empire in India was safe. When the upper classes were pacified by English education and government jobs from them, there was no threat or challenge anticipated from them. However, when India became a Crown colony the Government policy changed somewhat to accommodate the masses. Public education was to be carried out in the language spoken by the people (verncular) while English would continue to serve as medium of instruction in higher education. This education aimed at selecting and training the youth from the upper caste/class for civil service employment. The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras carried out this objective. The British policy of education in India resulted in a two-tier system of education: English education for the upper caste/class

and vernacular education for the mass of the subordinate social groups (and no education for the Untouchables). As a result of this policy, by 1852 Bombay had 233 vernacular schools with 11,000 pupils, and 14 government colleges, and English schools with 2,000 pupils.[13] On the other hand Bengal had 30 colleges with 5,000 pupils but only 33 primary schools.[14]

Uuntil the late 1930's public education did not have much popularity among the Indians. This is because the British policy of education deliberately excluded the masses. The British never considered education as a universal right of the Indians, therefore, the task of educating the masses left up to private enterprise and the civil society. The role of the government was to provide grants-in-aid to privately organized schools. On one hand the British wanted to have a tight control over the education of Indians, to create the *class* of people Macaulay and other colonizers wanted. On the other hand they wanted to do this at minimum expense. This policy had a three-fold effect. First, it wiped out the indigenous informal village schools which traditionally existed in India. Secondly it prevented the large majority of Indians from gaining admission to primary schools because of the fees charged by these private institutions. Thirdly, the policy had the contradictory result of encouraging the establishment of a number of sectarian, caste and religious denominational schools, from which all low castes, including Untouchables were excluded. This in turn further aided the upper castes perpetuation of their superior status position through education and employment in the colonial civil service. The vast majority of the population however, remained only minimally effected by these changes. For example, in 1881-82 there were 2 million pupils in primary schools (7% of the school-age population). By 1921-22 this number has reached only to 6 million (17% of the school-age population).[15] Between 1853 and 1922 only one of six Indian children were in school.[16] According to one calculation the annual expenditure per pupil incurred by the British Government for the education of an Indian child in 1921-22 was 67 cents.[17] The result of this British policy toward education was that between 1835-38 and 1931 the growth of educational opportunities among the general population of India was almost nil. (4.4% in 1835-38 to 6% in 1931).[18]

The lack of education among the Untouchables during the British rule must be viewed against this background. The only education the Untouchable child was eligible to receive was in government schools. But this too was objected to by the caste Hindus. The first test case came in 1856 when a boy from an Untouchable caste applied for admission to the Government school in Dharwar.[89] He was refused admission because it was thought that his enrolment would result in the withdrawl from the school of all the caste Hindu children and thus would cause of the school itself to close. The principle involved in the case occupied the attention of the Government for two years.[90] Finally in 1858 it was announced:

> although the Governor-in-Council *does not contemplate the introduction of low-caste pupils into schools*, the expense of which are shared with governmnt by local contributors and patrons who object to such a measure, he reserves to himself the full right of refusing the support of government to any partially aided school *in which the benefit of education are withheld from any class of persons on-account of caste or race, and further resolves that all schools maintained at the sole cost of government shall be open to all classes of its subjects without distinction.*[91] (author's emphasis)

This was the first breakthrough for Untouchables to gain educational opportunity in India. The Government, however, did not support the idea of education for Untouchable children throughout the country. The statement by the Governor-in-Coucil gave support to the rights of Untouchable children in government aided schools. But resistance by upper caste groups "often produced discretion rather than zeal in the enforcement of these rights."[92]

Untouchable children were harassed and discriminated against where ever they were admitted to school. Because of caste beliefs about ritual pollution, often they had to sit apart from Hindu children. Isaacs describes this situation :

> Despite long standing official policies of non-discrimination, the Untouchable child was made to sit outside in the dirt near the door or under a window, sometimes on the verandah, if there was one and take his lesson by listening from there. Where they were allowed to enter the room, they had to sit on separate benches or on the floor.[93]

The prevalence of these discriminatory practices contrary to the law was officially recognized by the government. In a press note of 1915 there was the complaint that contact with western civilization and English education had not combated the old ideas about Untouchability.[94] The note further refers to the "familiar sight of Mahar and other depressed class boys in village schools, where the boys are often not allowed to enter the classroom but

are accommodated outside the room on the verandah."[95]

This discrimination against the Untouchable children was condoned and even supported by the elites. Mrs. Annie Besant, leader in the Theophist Movement and prominent political figure in British India expressed her opinion on the question whether the children of the Untouchables should or should not be admitted to the common schools as follows:

> The children of the depressed classes need, first of all, to be taught cleanliness, outside decency of behaviour, and the earliest rudiments of education, religion and morality. Their bodies, at present, are ill-odorous and foul with the liquor and strong-smelling food out of which for generations they have been built up; it will need some generations of pure food and living to make their bodies fit to sit in the close neighborhood of schoolroom with children who have received bodies from an ancestry trained in habits of exquisite personal cleanliness, and fed on pure food-stuffs. We have to raise the Depressed Classes to similar level of physical purity, not to drag down the clean to the level of the dirty, and until this is done, close associations is undesirable. . . .
>
> In England, it has never been regarded as desirable to educate boys or girls of all classes side by side, and such grotesque equalizing of the unequal would be scouted. . . . A man in England who proposed that ragged school-children sholud be admitted to Eton and Harrow would not be argued with, but laughed at. . . . It is very easy to see the differences of 'tone' in the youths when only the sons of the cultured classes are admitted to a school, and it is to the interest of the Indians that they should send their sons where they are guarded from coarse influences as Englishmen guard their sons in England.[96]

Mrs. Besant's views represented those of the English educated upper class.

This limiting of the Untouchable children, however, was only one part of the story. Many philanthropists and progressive thinkers found the situation unacceptable and as a result reformers in different parts of India started educational institutions which were open to all castes.[97]

Jyotiro Phule of Poona was one of those reformers who took up the cause of the Untouchables. He opened a school for the non-Brahmins in Poona in 1848 and three years later, in 1851, established "the first school in India for the Untouchables" in Poona, the very center of Hindu orthodoxy, where only 50 years before that, persons of these castes could not even move about during the best part of the day."[98] Rosalind O'Hanlon summarises Phule's contribution for the education of the Untouchables as follows:

> Phule waged his ideological battle on two fronts. He attacked what he thought to be secular power of Brahmins as administrative elite by urging the education and employment of the lower castes, and by seeking to inform the British government of what he felt to be the design of the Brahmin employees. He did not simply demand jobs for the lower castes in the British administration. He argued for a radical

> restructuring of that administration itself, and for the transfer of greater power into the hands of sympathetic British administrators, so that the lower castes might be re-educated to a set of values more secular and egalitarian than those represented in Brahminic religion. He regarded this as the prerequisite for all other forms of liberation for the lower castes.[99]

Educational institutions run by caste Hindus continued to exclude the Untouchable children, despite the example of social reformers such as Phule. Although the British had recognized in principle the right of the Untouchable children to education they did not want to challenge in practice the entrenched caste beliefs. For them the allegiance of the upper castes and classes was important for the continued exploitation of Indian peasant and labouring classes.

G. Separate Schools for the Untouchables

The policy of the British before and after direct colonial rule was to encourage the establishment of schools only if they could be financed from private resources of caste and village communities. This policy translated caste oppression of untouchables and other poor sections of the society into educational exclusion and disadvantage for them. Because the British held religious neutrality, few village schools could be attended by members of all religious groups in the society.

In the matter of education the caste attitude in the south as elsewhere, was discriminatory toward Untouchables. Harold Isaacs quotes an older man (an Untouchable) who attended a Catholic Mission school in Kerala (formerly Travancore):

> I was able to go inside, although to sit on a separate seat. I was the only Scheduled caste (Untouchable) boy in the class and I had a seat in the corner. The teacher would not come near me. I would write on my slate and put it on the floor and he would come and look at it. Sometimes he would beat me and would do this by throwing his cane against my outstretched hand. It would hit my hand and then fall to the floor and he would pick it up and throw it again against my hand.[100]

Under such conditions few Untouchable children or their parents could get formal schooling. The situation was so bad that in the 1931 Census the literacy among Untouchables was only 16 per thousand.[101] Caste restrictions on Untouchables' education restricted their educational opportunities. Because of this the government encouraged the Christian missionaries to open separate schools for them. In many parts of the country they were

known as "Achut Pathshalas"(schools for Untouchables) in which instruction was given in the primary grades. These schools opened more as a concession to the prejudices of higher castes than out of concern for the welfare of the Untouchables.[102] They were succeeded by State Schools in various part of India. During the years 1897-98 to 1901-02 the province of Madras had 2934 institutions which were intended chiefly for the Panchamas (Untouchables).[103]Of these institutions 6 were run by the government, 491 by the municipal boards and 1612 were aided institutions.[104] In Cochin State (now part of Kerala) during the decade 1921-31 the number of Untouchable children reported to be in schools increased from some 1500 to 14,000.[105] Although the number of Untouchable children who received education was very small compared to their number in the general population, it was a major breakthrough in a system in which only the priestly and other high castes were the beneficiaries of Indian education. But Cochin was an exception.

The opening of the separate schools for Untouchables during late 1800's and early 1900's provided them educational opportunity without immediate harassment from the upper caste Hindus. It also had a lasting impact on the quality of education received by Untouchables in these schools. Caste-segregated education had denied them the opportunity for interaction with other sections of the society and vice versa. The consequence was that these separate schools did not provide a basis for inter-caste social interaction for the students of these schools and did little to alter the social relations of Hindu dominated society.[106] Instead, these schools further institutionalized the caste/class separation (in a new institution--government schools). Better teachers declined to teach in the separate schools. As Mohinder Singh puts it: "These institutions, ie., the separate schools emphasize and perpetuate caste cleavage. Further, these are below the normal standard. As a matter of fact, these are places where underfed and ill-equipped children try to learn something from an ill-informed teacher."[107]

This would seem to be another Freirean "limit-situation." The Untouchables got lower quality schooling when education became available to them. The upper castes with their command over wealth, influence and power were able to send their children to well-equipped

private schools or to equip schools for their children with superior staff and facilities. The Untouchables had to make do with poor facilities and mediocre staff provided for them by a reluctant government bureaucracy. The low-caste status of the Untouchables, combined with their deprived socio-economic condition, paralleled the inferior education they received in these schools. Thus in rural areas Untouchables were differentiated from caste Hindus not only on caste lines but also on class lines. In most instances it meant both social and educational deprivation. In urban areas lack of suitable educational qualification and training prevented them from obtaining economically valuble and socially acceptable employment. In urban areas this type of "job-ceiling," as John Ogbu called it, confined the Untouchables to their traditionally ascribed menial positions as landless agricultural labourers or "sanitation specialists" in British India.[108] Education in separate schools reinforced the low status of Harijans in the hierarchical Indian society.

The emergence of large number of separate schools, therefore, was not really in the interest of the Untouchables. The policy of separate educational facilities was similar to the "divide and rule" policy of the British as well as to the divisiveness of caste and ritual stigma of traditional Hindu society. Instead of breaking down the prejudice and caste barriers, the British, in fact, enhanced the hierarchical social order in India. It was in their best interest to have an upper class with superior education and English style of life and a lower class with minimal or no education. This was perfectly in tune with a class society into which they themselves have been socialized.

H. Role of Colonial Education in Bringing Social Change During the 19th Century

Although the colonial education system introduced by the English in India was aimed at a small upper strata of India, it played a role in bringing social changes in the 19th Century and early 20th century.

Before the introduction of English education in India, there was no organized system of education except for a few centers of higher education for the upper caste elites. With the introduction of colonial system of education this situation changed considerably. By the end

of 19th century, India had a network of schools and colleges organized under five universities (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, and Allahabad).[109] A system of classroom teaching, standard curriculum, and public examination -- were part of the changes. Sanskrit was repalced by English as medium of instruction at the university level. The infrastructure of the colonial state was first step toward modernization.

As noted before, English education set in motion new economic opportunities for the upper caste minority. British rule and English education also paved the way for a secular system of education in India which differed from the caste/ religious education which prevailed in India during the 15th and 16th centuries. Education was open, at least in theory, to all without respect to caste. The secularization of education and the removal of practices of exclusion based on religious criteria led to democratization and brought it within the reach of many who had previously been excluded from it.[110] But it did very little to change the educational situation of the Untouchables and other low castes. However, the system of education did destroy the monopoly held by the upper castes, particularly the Brahmins, to knowledge and learning.

With the introduction of western education many educated Indians realized the need for social change. There were movments against practices such as Suttee (burning of widows), of the acceptance of widow remarriage, of raising the age of marriage, and especially for the improvement in the condition of of the Untouchables. Among these movements Brahmo Samaj, founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy; Arya Samaj, founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati; Rama Krishna Mission, started by Swami Vivekanand are especially worth mentioning. These movements attacked the evils of caste system, and of the Hindu orthodoxy which upheld practices such as Sutte, child marriage, and Untouchability. They eventually paved the way for the abolition of many of these evil practices with which Hindū religion was associated. These movements went a long way to elevate the position of women in the Indian society.

Although English education was still a privilege of the few, it awakened the spirit of nationalism and togetherness. It made some Indians conscious of foreign domination and

exploitation. These were the members of the society who would lead the movement for independence from British rule. The organization of Indian National Congress in 1855 is important in this respect. Members of this organization were predominantly of the upper caste/class English-educated elite. The new system of education which gave them an insight into Western political life, created or strengthened their love of liberty and showed them ways in which to fight against their foreign rulers.[111] Vina Mazumdar in this connection says:

> English Education, organized as an instrument of administration, modernization, and social change had, by the end of the nineteenth century, transformed itself into one of the explosive factors working for the end of the British Raj, thus defeating the aims put forward by Grant and the whole school of anglicists.[112]

English education along with economic and other social changes divided the Indian society along class-lines into a small minority of highly educated men and women, an educated aristocracy which was distinctly urban and upper-class in character, and a large mass of illiterate rural people who belonged to the lower castes and exhibited some of the traits of an agrarian lower class.[113]

I. Endogamous forces for Social Change and Reform

Although the English education introduced by the British during the 19th century helped the growth of social reform movents in India, the major thrust for social change was basically endogamous. These forces emerged in different parts of India from the 12th century onwards and is generally known as the Bhakti Movement. The essential doctrine of this Movement was that salvation could be attained independently of rites and rituals performed by Brahmins. The Movement was a challenge to the caste system and social organization based on birth and Brahminical supremacy. This Movement was religious in its origin. Nonetheless, it was social in character with a strongly pronounced anti-feudal stamp which led to cultural activities and education for the masses along with bringing a new consciousness to the people.[114] The names of eminent social reformers like Ramanuja, Madhva, Kabir, Ramdas, Tukaram, Guru Nanak are often associated with this Movement. Many of the proponents of the Bhakti Movement belonged to the castes of traders and artisans, who were members of the low castes. The Movement was the expression of anger and discontentment of these castes

against the oppressive feudal structure and caste sy

The reform movements started by the Bhakti Movements received new impetus with the introduction of western education. The works of social reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekanand were greatly influnced by the Bhakti Movement.

Bhakti Movement not only played a religious and philosophical role, it also had major role in the transfiguration of caste-based Indian society.[115] It led to a great awakening of the national spirit and to the development of native literature. However, with the establishment of British rule in India, Bhakti Movement received a setback. British policies not only encouraged the Brahminism and Islamic orthodoxy in the society, they also created severe economic hardships to trading and artisan classes. The followers of Bhakti Movement found it harder and harder to resist the growing Brahminical influence. Therefore, in the course of time they emerged as a distinct caste within the Hindu fold, while retaining some of the liberal teachings of the Bhakti Movement. Brahminism and Hindu orthodoxy were reestablished with renewed vigour with the support received by Brahminism from the ruling British authorities.[116]

J. Post Independence Educational Situation

As it is in all stratified societies education in India continues to be elitist. Independent India simply expanded the colonial educational system inherited from the British to meet the public's expanding needs without changing its basic nature. Schooling as we have seen before, was begun by the British to "educate" a category of people for an administrative stratum within the Indian society, which would be useful in the colonial hierarchy developed by the British.[117] In other words, schooling in British India did not reach beyond the top of the class-controlled hierarchy. The British considered education to be commodity, which could be afforded only by members of the well-to-do sections of the society. Consequently there was disparity in the type and quality of educational facilities available in various parts of British India. This created peculiar stratification among educational institutions, some of which provided education at a high cost, thereby catering to the needs of a smaller group of students

belonging to the richer strata,[118] which worked in favour of these students. Because of the limited facilities available for education, the masses, especially the Harijans had the absolute minimum or no education at all.

Educational services and the financing of education in India today follows the British pattern. The fifty-five Public Schools of the country along with a large number of private schools, continue to provide exclusive education to a select few from the upper class. The socio-economic background of the child is the chief criterion for admission to these schools. Only wealth, power and influence can buy such education. Harijans have no opportunity to gain admission to these schools. The coveted top positions in the country held almost exclusivley by graduates of these schools.

Through an education system based on early selection[119] (placing of children in different types of institutions when they are very young) and mass examination, [120] (state wide or nation wide examination) the upper class retain control of most of these elite jobs in the country for their children. The three-tier system of education (exclusive Public Schools, private or religious schools, and the Government schools) in India reproduce the social inequality by providing superior exclusive education for a select few, (including the few rich Harijans), while the poor, including the landless Harijans receive "inferior" education in Government schools. This is "colonial education" in the true sense of the term. Schooling as an institution with strong colonial legacy endeavours to make children fit into certain moulds, to shape them to perform certain predetermined roles and tasks based on their social class.[121] Schooling in India does little to help Harijans overcome the caste/class hierarchy. J. P. Naik describes the class nature of modern Indian eduction as follows:

> Because of limitations on resources, and the compulsive need to secure expansion, we have developed a dual system of secondary and higher education in the sense that there is a small core of institutions which maintain good standards and these are surrounded by a large periphery of sub-standard institutions. What happens in practice is that the children from the well-to-do classes generally get admission to the small core of quality institutions while the children from the poor families are ordinarily admitted only to the large periphery of substandard institutions. The concentration of the well-to-do classes in the quality institutions at the secondary and higher stages is, therefore, even greater. Both in quantity and quality, therefore, it is the upper and middle classes who are the main beneficiaries of secondary and higher education; and the policy leads not to equality, but to continuation and strengthening of privilege.[122]

A good education, (education provided by better qualified teachers in well-equipped schools) even today, is not a basic social right freely available to all members of the society. It still continues to be, as in the colonial period, reserved for a small richer classes in society, and this sort of education serves to perpetuate inequalities. The vast majority of those who are poor, including the Harijans, are barred by poor education from occupations for which competitive educational qualifications are primary selective criteria. Occupations in government as well as those in the private sector demanding professional training and technical skills are monopolized by members of the upper classes. What Wallace Clement says about the Canadian corporate elite is equally true for Indian elites. Clement says:

> As long as the upper class is able to keep its social class institutions such as private schools and clubs intact, it will be able to maintain its monopoly of power by selecting those members of the middle class, and occasionally lower class, deemed acceptable and excluding those who are not. This means accepting the life-style, attitudes, and values of the upper class. As guardians of the institutions of power and the avenues of access, they are able to dictate that the system should operate as they see fit; that is a system of exclusion and monopoly for their own privileges and prerogatives of power.[123]

The English educated elites of India are that section of the upper castes who control the political, social, educational and religious institutions of the country on behalf of themselves, their heirs, and in their own class interest. Through their control of the legislatures, educational institutions, and top bureaucratic positions, including those in the armed forces and education, they maintain a hierarchically ordered social system through which they extract social labour from the masses and they continue to enjoy a life-style that is beyond the reach of the vast majority of the Indians. The upper class education available in the exclusive public and private English language schools, enable the affluent to pass their privileges on to their children and kin relations. To quote Clement again, "Families who are able to pass their accummulated advantages on their kin establish a system of "social self-recruitment within privileged strata from one generation to the next" thus perpetuating class through kinship ties."[124] This is the case with the Indian elites, especially since caste groups are endogamous kin-based groups. So rather than education being an instrument for social change for the poor, it becomes an instrument of class stratification. Education cannot contribute to fundamental, structured change when it is part of elitist and restrictive

development.

Contrary to the ideals set out by the Constitution-makers of India, Independent India is not a society of equal opportunity. As long as power is concentrated in the hands of the upper class elite and their kinship in the present concentrated state, there is no hope for equality of opportunity for the vast majority, including the Harijans and other depressed classes. In a country where the passport to most professions is still an English language education, the advantage is always in favour of those upper class who can afford the exclusive public and private English language medium schools. The children of poor landless Harijans who are educted in the third-rate government schools cannot compete with the upper class children for enrolment in the few available top-flight colleges which in turn lead to places in government service. The English-educated upper classes who hold the reins of power and control the the government bureaucracy continue to use education to their class interests.

Although post-independence Indian society was modeled on a socialist society, the organization of social labour and the economic system is basically capitalist in form and is based on its class system. Schools merely perpetuate this class structure within the social order. As J.P. Naik points out, "Schools had become an intrinsic part of the consumer oriented capitalist model of development adopted by India in the Post-Independence period."[125]

The organization of Indian society, today, provides the upper caste/class with the advantage to accummulate power and privilege and then transfer these to their children in the form of landownership, social status, exclusive education and top positions in the civil service. The Harijans, having been denied access to power and privilege can transfer nothing to their children. Several studies have pointed out that preferential treatment of Harijans in the matter of educational opportunities, like all other components of protective discrimination are mere tokens or are instruments for preventing disruption[126] or conflict.

Because of the elitist nature or class nature of the system of Indian education, Harijans continue to receive inferior education which limits their occupational prospects in later life. Due to this "limit-situation" education has made little lasting effect on the lives of

majority of the Harijans. In India what education has done is to prepare individuals for a particular style of life charcteristic of a particular status group.[127] The attempts made in modern India to reduce the inequality in the society through education, employment and social mobility have benefited only certain groups in the society. As A. R. Desai puts it:

> The government has made weak efforts to mitigate the evil and the system permits only few individuals from the lower strata to receive this education. Thus secondary and higher education which provide opportunities for jobs, still remains in the preserve of the bettter off sections of the India society. New educational opportunities created after independence are thus becoming an instrument of perpetuating the same stratification process which developed during the British period.[128]

Education in modern India has not resulted in greater socio-economic rewards for bulk of the Harijans. Education in India has not provided access to social benefits to all. It tends to be distributed in a distorted manner among the population. Disproportionate quantities and qualities tending to go to those who already have privileged share of other goods and services.[129] Education for Harijans is paid only lip service, and the few educated Harijans are kept quiet through political benefits and subordinate positions in the government services. The majority of them are kept at the bottom. The system of scholarships, stipends and reservations for Harijans are used as "humanitarianism" to preserve a "profitable situation" that work in favour of the ruling upper strata of the Indian society.

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III. Government Policies Preceding Independence

The development of British imperialism in India began with the East India Company, chartered by the British crown in England in 1600. The East India Company came to India intending to gain wealth by trading in Indian spices, silk, cotton and other products. At this time India was a great manufacturing country. The products of Indian textile mills were famous throughout Europe and Asia. Commodity production and both foreign and domestic trade had reached an unprecedented height.[1] Consequently the merchant and trading class in the society received great importance. More and more new markets were established in different parts of India. This resulted in the emergence of new socio-economic and ideological forces in the society.[2]

The most dynamic feature of Indian society at the time of the establishment of British power in India was the transition of Indian society from feudalism to a mercantile class-based society. But unlike a European mercantile class Indian merchants were not able to participate in foreign trade on a large scale.[3] The European powers exploited this situation by coming into India as traders in Indian goods. Because of its superior naval power and alliance with Mughal emperor and local rulers the East India Company established thier trade monopoly in India.

Village communities in India at this time was self-sufficient economic units. The village population enjoyed socio-economic and political security as long as they paid a share of the crop to the local chief and to the central political authority (Mughal emperor). Landownership was rooted in traditional custom and usage rather than in any system of legal statutes. Although this type of social organization resulted in the exploitation of the trading and serving castes, it sustained a relatively stable and harmonious socio-economic life for the village population.

During the first phase of its occupation in India, East India Company was engaged in export of Indian products such as spice, cotton goods, silk and textile goods. But from the beginning of 1800 to 1850, the colonial objective changed from seizing the Indian commodities

to using Indian markets for factory-made English goods.[4] This change resulted in not only the monopoly of Indian domestic and foreign trade, but also free trade, admission of English goods to India duty free.[5] The Charter Act of 1813 and 1833 embodied this change.[6] After 1814 English machine-made cotton products began to flood the Indian markets, effectively destroying the high quality textile crafts of Indian towns.[7] This resulted in the unemployment of large number of village craftsmen. The drain of wealth from India to England through commerce practically destroyed the socio-economic foundation of the prosperous industrial centers like Dacca, Murshidabad, and Surat.[8] Murshidabad was equal to the city of London in population and manufacturing industries.[9] But it was reported that by 1840 the industrial towns of Dacca, Surat, and Murshidabad had fallen off from very flourshing towns to one of poverty and distress.[10] The destruction of traditional manufacturing industries resulted in loss of the productive skills of the artisans and craftsmen. The British also changed the land taxation system in order to increase revenue and to change control of the land. This led to the creation of revenue farms in Bengal, auctioned off to the highest bidder. This resulted in enormous pressure on the Zamindars to increase the land revenue.[11] This caused miseries to the peasants and cultivators. Furthermore, Indian agriculture by the latter half of the 19th century was transformed to supply raw-materials for English factories. This destroyed the self-sufficiency of the village economy.

Thus the British Land policy, the destruction of craft and cottage industries, and the commercialization of agriculture were major causes of the underdevelopment of Indian economy. We shall examine these factors in detail and relate them to the socio-economic and educational situation of the Untouchables.

A. British Land Policy as a Cause of Underdevelopment

Although commerce with India was the primary source of income for the East India Company, the British found that land revenue was necessary to maximize their income. With their victory in the War of Plassey, the British received the diwani rights (civil administration) in Bengal. Their newly acquired power gave them the right to change the

Bengali taxation system. The changes increased direct yield in land revenue from nearly 15 million rupees in 1765 to 30 million rupees in 1770-1777.[12] The increased tax burden gave a financial death blow to large number of Bengali cultivators and artisans and was one of the causes of the famine in Bengal during 1770-1783.[13]

The British policy in India was to allow landowners to extract as much labour and wealth from the peasants as possible. This was the source of money to pay for the consolidation of colonial power in India. Until this time the East India Company (controlled and financed by the great merchants of London) derived their profits from the import of Indian piece goods (muslin, calico), silk, indigo and spice. But the newly gained power in Bengal enabled them to buy without having to pay, and to be able to sell at the full price.[14] Beginning in 1793, in Bengal and adjacent areas, the British changed a large number of Zamindars from tax collectors into outright landowners. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Zamindars under the Mughal regime had no legal claim to the property which they taxed. The British view was that the new landlord should raise more revenue for the State.[15] This system of land ownership was called as the Zamindari system. Through it the English created 3000 Indian landlords who had the right to sell, mortgage, and inherit land as individuals.[16] Individual ownership of land was now legally held as *private* property which could be sold, mortgaged or auctioned freely, and it could be held by absentee landlords.[17]

The Zamindars, instead of becoming producers themselves, left the cultivation of the land to peasants who worked on the land with the help of hired labourers from the Untouchable castes. Thus Zamindari landownership introduced by the British caused two new classes to emerge in rural Indian society: landlords, and landless agricultural labourers. The landowning class belonged to the upper classes and castes and the landless agricultural labourers to the Untouchable castes. The peasant farmers were inbetween. This class formation imposed a new "limit-situation" on the Untouchables who were already subjected to number of disabilities deriving from their ritual caste status.

The revenue demands of the British were so high that the Zamindars had to give nine-tenths of the revenue they collected to the government, and to be content with final the

tenth. At the same time Zamindars imposed a variety of levies and taxes to maintain the pomp of their political office.[18] In this way the Zamindari system led to the growth of a powerful landowining class in India at the expense of the village peasantry and the landless agricultural labourers.

A different type of land system was devised by th East India Company for Bombay and Madras. It was later extended to other areas in North Eastern and North Western India.[19] Here the British dealt with the peasants directly, on an individual basis. This was aimed at raising more money for the Company. Each peasant was recognized as holding the particular polt or plots he occupied, but his right to the land depended upon annual payment money rent to the State.[20] Because this system dealt directly with the peasant, it was called the "ryotwari settlement."

These two land systems consolidated ownership of land and economic power in the hands of the landowning class. The poor cultivators, share croppers, agricultural labourers and the so-called "manual servants" in rural society became more and more dependent on the former. As Professor Mukherjee says:

> In this way, the caste structure was telescoped into the economic structure of society which developed in British India, and thereby the former claimed stability and simultaneous existence so long as the landlords dominated rural society ... apart from some enlightened individuals breaking out of their circle and aligning themselves with the progressive currents in society, the landlords as a class gave consistent support to Brahminism and to the most important social institution it fostered, namely the caste system.[21]

Instead of bringing changes in the mode of agricultural production, the new system resulted in the concentration of ownership of agricultural land in the hands of few upper class landlords. Ownership of land changed from communal/customary to private/ rent-paying simple ownershi p. This can be described as a "limit-situation" facing the landless labourers. They were denied access to the means of production, denied opportunities to rise in the socio-economic hierarchy, and denied access to developments in agricultural technology. Consequently they lacked the economic security and political resources to provide the basic social amenities for their families. Because agricultural products were the primary source of income for most Indians, education of their children could only be supported from this

income. Untouchables and other landless labourers had no access to such income. Their income was the meagre daily payment received in kind from agriculture which frequently did not meet their daily subsistence needs. Education for their children was beyond their means. More over, the Zamindars had a vested interest in keeping them uneducated and oppressed. The lack of education and other social amenities among Untouchables resulted in an economic advantage for the Zamindars, since they could continue to rely on the supply of their cheap labour. This naturally resulted in a negation of Untouchables' aspirations, since they lacked skills, and had neither the knowledge nor the opportunity to pursue any occupation other than agricultural labour. This worked to benefit the landowning upper classes who were able in this way to benefit from the "dehumanizing" situation of the Untouchables.

B. Commercialization of Indian Agriculture

British land policy in India also resulted in the expansion of commercial agriculture in India during the second half of 19th century. The older self-sufficient village economy of India, weakened by the land policy of the British between 1793 and 1850, was shattered by the commercialization of agriculture (production of crops for sale, rather than for own consumption) between 1850 and 1947.[22] There were two main reasons for this. First, the new land system made it necessary for the peasant to maximize income from the land to meet the money/tax demanded from him by the landlord and the British authorities. Secondly, the British themselves encouraged the cultivation of cash crops for export. The newly emerging industrial centers of England such as Manchester and Lancashire needed food. The British exploited the Indian food agriculture to meet needs at home at the expense of India's own domestic needs. The building of railways in India after the 1850's further facilitated this process of exploitation. Thorner and Thorner describe this situation:

> Once the railways were opened it became possible for the inland areas of India to produce for the world market. Wheat poured out of the Punjab, cotton out of Bombay, and jute out of Bengal. As commerical agriculture and money economy spread, the older practices associated with self-subsisting economy declined. As industrial crops (e.g., cotton, groundnuts, sugarcane, tobacco) were more paying than foodgrains, the peasants who could tended to shift over to these. In some districts the peasants shifted over completely to industrial crops and had to buy their foodstuffs from dealers. Villagers sent to market the cereal reserves traditionally kept

for poor years. They became less prepared to meet poor harvests. Years of successive drought in the 1870's led to great famines and agrarian unrest.[23]

The new forms of landholding along with the land revenue system encouraged the emergence of money lenders in rural India. The money lender was valuable to the State converting the peasants' crops into cash and passing on the land revenues to the Government.[24] British policies, therefore, encouraged money lenders to expand their field of activities. The legal system introduced by the British made their investment secure, in that, if the peasant defaulted on loans the British police and the courts always came to their aid to attach the peasant's land, cattle and other personal property. More over, by the middle of 19th century the price of land rose rapidly in value, thereby encouraging the money lenders to broaden their operation by taking over the peasants' land and then renting it.[25] The British policies helped the money lender to amass wealth and many of them became big landowners themselves, enlarging the new landowning class. The British land policy gave the landowners a hierarchy of rights in the land which enabled them to take a substantial portion of the produce of the soil. People who enjoyed such property rights became a group more and more set apart from those who actually cultivated.[26]The people on top of the hierarchy received most of the share of the produce from land, while people at the bottom such as the tenants and hired labourers from the low castes received very little. In other words, commercialization of Indian agriculture during the British period resulted in the exploitation and pauperization of people at the bottom of the agricultural production.

C. Destruction of Cottage Industries as the Cause of Underdevelopment

The victory at Plassey in 1757 not only gave the British the power to levy and collect revenue and taxes, it also gave them direct control over 10,000 Bengali weavers, whose contract forced them to deal exclusively with the Company[27] on the Company's terms. This had far reaching consequences. First, it resulted in large-scale rural unemployment among troops, traders, artisans and craftsmen who were supported by the previous beneficiaries of the tax surplus.[28] Secondly, in so far as the transfer of wealth took the form of export of eastern Indian commodities, this resulted in a radical disturbance of the entire trading pattern

of India.[29] Before the East India Company gained the monopoly of Indian trade, much of the silk and muslin from Bengal were transported to Gujarat and the silk merchants of coastal towns of Bombay and Gujarat prospered from the trade. Now, of Rs.3.30 crores (annual) worth of "raw-silk," cotton and silk products of Bengal, no less than Rs.1.68 crores worth was directly sent to Europe, Rs.1.10 crores consumed locally, and only Rs.0.60 crore left for export to other parts of India and Middle East.[30] The new export pattern not only destroyed the world-wide market for Indian textiles, but it ruined the domestic market. The export of cotton goods from the United Kingdom to India increased from 0.80 million yards in 1815 to 45.00 million yards in 1839;[31] and cotton twist from a mere 8 lbs in 1814 to 4.56 milliion lbs in 1828 and 10.81 million Ibs in 1839. The value of British cotton goods entering India was £2.29 million in 1839; that of cotton twist was £0.64 million.[32] In 1855 they reached the values, respectively, of £5.40 million and £1.27 million.[33] The Indian industries had been destroyed to allow for the continued expansion of British industries. Wealth drained from Indian economy was so enormous that some argue that the Indian trade surplus, coming at that time helped to stimulate the beginning of industrial revolution in England[34] (along with African slavery and plantation sugar crops). But at the same time the colonization of Indian economy by the British between 1757-1857 had far-reaching social, and economic consequences for the future developments in India.

The British policy in regard to trade and commerce, like education was to control India politically and economically. They did not want India to become an independent capitalist country.[35] On the other hand they wanted to import cheap raw-materials from India and flood the Indian markets with finished goods made in English factories.

This gradual subjugation of the Indian market to English manufactured goods resulted in massive rural unemployment in India. In Bengal alone, it is estimated that as early as 1828, at least 1 million people had lost their job in cotton trades. (The total number of cotton workers of every kind together in Britain in 1851 was only 527,000).[36] H.C. Rawlinson says: "English competition dealt a heavy blow at Indian village industries, which were once famous throughout the civilized world."[37] Karl Marx also describes this situation: "British steam and

science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindoostan, the union between agricultural and manufacturing industries."[38] Marx goes on to say: "The English cotton machinery produced an acute effect in India. The Governor General reported in 1834-35: 'The misery hardly finds parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India'."[39]

D. Deindustrialization of India and the Impact of it on Rural Employment

As a result of the deindustrialization caused by British policies, members of castes which engaged in traditional manufacturing occupations such as spinning, weaving, tanning, leather work, pottery, basketry etc., had to abandon them. They could not compete or were not allowed to compete with British manufactured goods and had to move to rural areas to look for agricultural work. In other words, the deindustrialization of India between 1800 and 1900 must be attributed to the displacement of the traditional manufacturers as suppliers of consumption goods to the internal Indian market.[40] This had a negative impact on the economic status of the Untouchables, because they had now to compete with the former artisan class for what ever jobs available in the rural areas. This forced the Untouchables into even less rewarding occupations such as sweeping, cleaning, washing etc.,

Agriculture, now in the hands of the landowing Zamindars, did not result in any major improvement--neither surplus produce nor capital for new investment in agricultural operations. Former craftsmen had little or no background or training in agriculture. In fact, the new situation was detrimental to the progress of agricultural development in rural India. Thorner and Thorner call this a "built-in depressor." They describe the situation as follows: "Timorous, uneducated, ill-paid and with no stake in increase in output, these agricultural labourers could hardly have been expected to take interest in advanced techniques or even to proper use of better tools."[41] The result of this situation was that between 1890-1947 India's total agricultural output rose so slowly that it almost stagnated.[42]

Thus the British colonial policies regarding education discussed in the preceding chapter, land tenure, commercialization of agriculture all paved the way for the emergence of

Indian society built on class lines. By the early 1900's Indian society consisted of four classes: the Zamindars or the landlord class, the English-educated upper class elites who held the bureaucratic positions in the British administration, and the masses (industrial working class, petty traders, majority of the lower echelons of the clerical services, the independent agricultural commodity producers)[43] and the poor agricultural labourers, including the Untouchables, with very little education and wealth. The upper castes, especially the Brahmins dominated the socio-economic and religious institutions of the country. The Majority of the middle and lower castes remained economically weak and politically unorganized. This situation led to great deal of unrest and feeling of insecurity among them. They wanted a share in the new opportunities. The British policy of reserving seats in legislatures on communal basis, starting with Indian Muslims in 1909, created a desire to fight against the iniquitous social system perpetuated by the British among the middle and lower castes. This took the form of a conflict between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, started in Madras and Bombay, reaching other parts of India by the 1920's. This movement was anti-Brahmin because it was generally believed that Brahmins were responsible for the perpetuation of an unjust socio-economic order in India. To prevent further domination of the Brahmins, the middle ranking castes in the non-Brahmin movement resorted to intense political activities. This movement is known as the Backward Classes Movement and we shall discuss it in detail in the following pages.

E. Backward Classes Movement of the Early 1900's

"Backward Classes" comprise an important section of Indian society. Today they make up about 30% of the total population of India. They are not a homogeneous group, but consist of three distinct divisions. They are the Scheduled Castes (Harijans); the Scheduled Tribes, and the Other Backward Classes; The Other Backward Classes (OBC) include large number of groups who are not "as backward" compared with the first two groups.

Backward Classes are not officially listed in the Constitution, but are defined in vague terms and are given special recognition in a variety of contexts including reserved seats in

higher educational institutions, and government jobs. "Backwardness" is viewed as an attribute not of individuals, but of certain socially defined segments in which membership is generally acquired by birth. Thus the Backward Classes may include some individuals who have achieved success both educationally and economically.[44] In other words, their identity does not derive from a common class experience but from the nature of the traditional system of stratification to which specific economic, political and ritual events have contributed.[45]

Toward the end of 19th century, many of the low castes in India, especially the Shudras and Untouchables in the South, became conscious of their oppressed state under the caste system. The establishement of Pax Britanica, opening of railways, posts & telegraphs, printing Press, and the new English education--all were responsible for this. British policy, in theory, opend the door to education for low castes, especially for the Untouchables. Improved transportation and communication facilities made the flow of information easier and this facilitated the organization of Backward Classes Movement. The British also recruited Untouchables into the army, police, and to the low-ranking jobs in the British administration. Other factors like the police administration, judicial system established by the British replacing the caste councils, all made the low castes conscious of their condition and they began to strive for justice.

The Backward Classes Movement in India was the culmination of discontent of middle and lower classes with the upper caste dominance in the social, economic, educational, and religious institutions of the country. Also, it was part of British rule in India, and part of the National Congress, and of the general socio-economic change in India during the early 1900's. In the South, especially in Madras and Bombay presidencies, the Backward Classes Movement began as a protest against Brahminical domination of administration and politics. Madras city was the center of the Movement. In 1920's Brahmins occupied most of the non-British administrative positions in the South. Andre Beteille has noted that in Madras "between 1892 and 1904, out of 16 successful candidates for the I. C. S. (Indian Civil Service), 15 were Brahmins; in 1913, 93 out of 128 permanent district munsifs (judges of lower courts) were Brahmins; and in 1914, 452 out of the 650 registered graduates of the University were

Brahmins."[46] In 1918 the Brahmins in the Presidency numbered 1.5 million out of a total of 42 million, but 70 percent of arts graduates, 74 percent of graduates in law, 71 percent of engineering graduates, and 74 percent of graduates in teaching were Brahmins. Out of 390 higher appointments in the Education Department 310 were held by Brahmins, in the Judicial Department, 116 out of 171, and in the Revenue Department, 394 out of 679.[47] It was this kind of Brahmin domination in the civil service under the British administration that promoted the Backward Classes Movement in Madras and the south. Therefore, the term "Backward" might have included, until the 1950's all castes except the Brahmins, including even Muslims, Christians, and Parsis.[48]

Around 1920 some of the English-educated leaders, i.e., the educated elite belonging to the numerically preponderate caste category known as non-Brahmins (castes other than Brahmins and the Harijans) realized the importance of having representation in legislative assemblies and district bodies.[49] Basically the non-Brahmin movement was a conflict between those who had few advantages arising from positions in government bureaucracy and political influence and those who had many.[50] It was caused by the disparity in class/caste economic and political position.

The Backward Classes Movement received added momentum from the transfer of political power to the Indians at the Provincial level. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 enlarged the powers of the Provincial councils, and with that many of the religious minorities such as Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Anglo Indians received separate electorates.[51] With this there was a sharp increase in nationalism and caste-consciousness all over India.[52] This led to rise of the principle of communal representation in legislative bodies, a principle practised even today.

Backward Classes Movement in the south led to the formation of the Justice Party in 1916 which was instrumental in obtaining communal representation for non-Brahmins. The Justice Party captured a majority of the seats in the election in Madras presidency held under the Government of India Act of 1919, and they were in power till 1926. Justice Party was instrumental in bringing social changes to large numbers of non-Brahmins in the South. From

the point of view of public education, and administration, the most far-reaching accomplishment of the Justice Party was the introduction of the principle of giving preferential treatment to backward classes in the matter of government jobs, and admission to professional courses like engineering, medicine and science.[53] This led to the establishement of caste quotas, which could result in the rejection of "better qualified" Brahmins in favour of less qualified non-Brahmins.[54] Srinivas describes the impact of such "discrimination in reverse":

> The principle of "protective discrimination" or "discrimination in reverse" became so firmly established that since 1920, in Madras Presidency, out of every twelve posts five had to go to non-Brahmin Hindus, two to Brahmins, two to Muslims, two to Anglo-Indians or Christians, and one to the Depressed Classes (Harijans). With regard to admission to medical and other colleges, out of every fourteen seats six were alloted to non-Brahmin Hindus, two to Backward Hindus, two to Harijans, two to Brahmins, one to Anglo-Indians or Indian Christian, and one to a Muslim.[55]

The same situation held in Mysore State. From 1929-1959 Brahmins could compete for only three out of every ten posts, and in 1959 the Government of Mysore passed an order reserving 75 percent both of jobs in government, and seats in medical and engineering colleges, to the Backward Classes and only 25 percent of the jobs/seats open to general competition.[56]

The Backward Classes Movememt did not however, lead to the socio-economic advancement of Untouchables and other low castes because the movement did not represent them. The leading non-Brahmin castes such as Kowandan, and Padayachi of Tamil Nadu, Kamma and Reddi of Andra Pradesh, Lingayat of Mysore, Ezhavas of Kerala derived considerable benefit from the Movement. At any rate the Movement gave Untouchables incentive to fight for their causes. During 1916-19 period Untouchables made their demands for political rights and equality from the British. The Act of 1919, referred to earlier, allowed Untouchables a token representation in provincial legislatures (a total of 5 seats--2 to Madras, one each to Bombay, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh).

F. Beginning of Protective Discrimination

The British policy-makers and Untouchable leaders like Ambedkar believed it necessary to build safeguards and benefits into the state for the low status and weaker groups in Indian society, especially the Untouchables. This was because those castes thought most "polluted" by caste Hindus contained many destitute people who were the least educated, the politically weakest, and most dependent to be found in India.[5] Protective discrimination was developed to ensure the members of the lowest castes a share of power and opportunity for advancement. These assuarances may be classified into two main categories. First, reservation(seats reserved for Scheduled Castes) applied to political representation, government employment, and higher educational institutions. Second, financial assistance administered through a wide variety of welfare schemes and educational benefits. The principle of protective discrimination was developed by the British Government in India over a period of several decades. It dates back to 1909 when the British granted minority status to Muslims and Sikhs. The Act of 1919 further extended these privileges to Depressed Classes, or Untouchables. The Poona Pact, which came to effect on September, 1932 gave the Depressed Classes (Untouchables) a total of 148 seats in the provincial legislatures. The attempt of the Untouchables to win special safeguards through statutory provisions received further support from an intense national agitation directed against the colonial government during the 15 years preceding 1935, which was formed for winning complete independence from the British. This movement led to the political mobilization of Indian population including the Untouchables. This period produced a high degree of politicization and articulation of emanicipation demands of the Untouchables which culminated in the Government of India Act of 1935 which granted special status and privileges to Untouchables and other backward communities. The Act gave the Untouchables 19 seats in the Federal Assembly and for the first time granted statutory safeguards for their education and employment. These provisions have been known as "Protective Discrimination" or "Discrimination in Reverse." This policy of protective discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Castes was begun by the colonial Government in 1935 in favour of the Scheduled Castes. It was later expanded in

post-independece India starting in 1950 through Constitutional provisions.

The term "Scheduled Caste" was coined by the Simon Commission[58] of 1927 and was first used by the British Government in 1935. The lowest ranking Hindu Castes were listed in a "Schedule" which contained 429 "outcaste" communities. Until this time these castes were known only as Untouchables, depressed classes or exterior castes. The Schedule was to grant statutory safeguards regarding education and employment benefits to these castes alluded to above. The primary test or criterion for placing a caste on the Schedule was whether that caste suffered civil disabilities such as denial of access to roads, ferries, wells and schools.[59] The 429 castes mentioned in the Schedule were entitled to special treatment in education, employment and political representation. With the passage of the Government of India Act of 1935, several states passed laws making it an offence to discriminate against Untouchables. In 1938 the Madras Government enacted a comprehensive law removing discrimination and Untouchability in regard to use or access to publicly supported facilities such as roads, wells, and transportation.[60] But these laws did little in practice to improve the condition of the Scheduled Castes because the enforcement machinery was largely absent. The absence of enforcement machinery acted as another institutional barrier which prevented the members of the Scheduled Castes from deriving benefit form legislation.

In 1937 Provincial political autonomy within British ruled India became a reality. During 1937-39 the Congress party came to power in several provinces. During this period Harijans had hopes that the Congress party would do something to eradicate Untouchability and improve their socio-economic condition. But the Congress government depended on the public will to bring about changes. The policy statement of the Congress Government in the United provinces, in May 1838, the most populous of the provinces said:

> all people are entitled to a free and unfettered use of all public property, such as public highways, public parks, and public buildings. While the Government will not fail to do its duty in regard to this matter, it is obvious that ***public and social opinion must exercise the greatest influence in the solution of any difficulties which may arise in any part of the Province.***[61] (author's emphasis)

The Congress party was dominated by upper caste/class elites and vested interests. Therefore, it could not afford to and did not want to offend these castes and kin groups

through implementation of the programs which would benefit the Scheduled Castes. For this reason education and social programs for the Untouchables saw little improvement during this period. It was a period when the Congress launched a massive non-cooperation and "Quit India" movement against the British. Most Congress leaders including Gandhi and Nehru were thrown into jails. The colonial government in India was in the midst of a profound political crisis. So the state of Harijan education and general welfare were the result of a political paralysis that confronted the colonial state at that time.

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IV. Assault on Untouchability

A. 1920-1947: Gandhi and Ambedkar

In the 1920's the social amelioration of the situation of the Untouchables had become a national concern. Leaders like M. K. Gandhi and B. R. Ambedkar criticized the practices associated with Untouchability in all their forms. Gandhi entered the Indian political scene in 1919 and soon came to dominate the Congress party. Until this time, the National Congress was a party almost solely of the English-educated Indian elite. Therefore, they had done little to improve the condition of the Untouchables. But Gandhi, having experienced racial oppression in South Africa, was determined to launch an assault on Untouchability. For him it was also a means to an end: the end being swaraj or independence from the British. He worked toward transforming the elite-oriented Congress party into a people's party by opening its membership to all. He insisted on full implementation of official resolutions passed by the Congress through political measures such as non-cooperation and Satyagraha. Congress under Gandhi's leadership launched what he called a constructive programme of social amelioration including assault on Untouchability.

When he became the leader of the Congress party, Gandhi made his first and strongest statement on Untouchability. He said: "Swaraj is unattainable without the removal of the sin of Untouchability as it is without Hindu Muslim unity."[1] Gandhi renamed the Untouchables as "Harijans" -- literally Children of God -- and established the Harijan Sevak Sangh and "Harijan Weekly" to promote their cause. Gandhi believed that there was no basis for Untouchability in orthodox Hindu religion and said it was a subsequent historical development. He appealed to the caste Hindus to change their social practices and attitudes and bring an end to Untouchability. He said: "Untouchability will not be removed by the force of law. It can only be removed when the majority of Hindus realize that it is a crime against God and men and are ashamed of it. In other words, it is a process of conversion, i.e., purification of Hindu heart."[2] Gandhi, like Congress Party local governments, depended on the public will to bring about change.

Ambedkar was another force for improving the socio-economic conditions of the Harijans. An Untouchable himself, he had suffered pariah status from early childhood. As a result he was determined to fight against it. But unlike Gandhi, Ambedkar directly attacked the caste system. To him the cause of Untouchability was the caste system itself. He believed that caste system had to be destroyed in order to emancipate the Harijans. He wanted Harijans to enjoy education, political and socio-economic privileges and power equal to others. His programs for the Harijans were aimed at integrating them into the Indian society in a new, not traditional way. Ambedkar planned to bring the Untouchables from a state of "dehumanization" and "slavery" into one of equality through the use of edueation and the exercise of legal and political rights.[3]

Ambedkar also tried to awaken the Harijans and make them aware of their oppression and its origin in their historical condition. He believed that without education Harijans would continue to stay at the bottom of Indian society. As did Freire more recently, Ambedkar believed that to surmount of oppression Harijans must critically recognize its cause, so that they could transform their "imit-situation" into a new situation which would help them to pursue a path of emanicipation from centuries of oppression and exploitation by the upper castes. To him education was a precondion for political and economic freedom. He said: "I want the Depressed Class to concentrate their energy and resources on politics and education and I hope that they realize the importance of both."[4]

Ambedkar criticized the British Government in India for its support of the caste and class hierarchies of Indian society and for its failure to bring about changes in the condition of Harijans through social reform. He said to the Harijans:

> So far as you are concerned, the British Government has accepted the arrangement as it found them and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches, and all... Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove them unless you got political power in your hands. No share of the politiical power can come to you so long as the British Government remains as it is.[5]

Although Gandhi and Ambedkar had similar goals they were at odds as the best means of achieving them. Gandhi wanted to absorb the Harijans into the Hindu religion and

into Hindu society but to raise their status. He wanted to keep everything in Hinduism and caste system except "Untouchability."

Gandhi wanted to raise the status of Harijan to that of a Brahmin, even though the Harijan continued to engage in his "self-polluting" work. This was in sharp contrast with Ambedkar's goals. He wanted to achieve the integration of the Harijans through modern educational means so that they may know their condition, and would aspire to rise to the level of the highest Hindu and to be in a position to use political power as a means to the end. Ambedkar wrote:

> What hope can Gandhism offer to the Untouchables? To the Untouchables, Hinduism is a veritable chamber of horrors. The sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas, Smritis and Shastras, the iron law of caste, the heartless law of Karma and the senseless law of status by birth are to the Untouchables veritable instruments of torture which Hinduism has forged against the Untouchables. These very instruments which have mutilated, blasted and blighted the life of the Untouchables are to be found intact and untarnished in the bosom of Gandhism. How can the Untouchables say that Gandhism is heaven and not a chamber of horrors as Hinduism has been? The only reaction and a very natural reaction of the Untouchables would be to run away from Gandhism.[6]

Ambedkar's desire and commitment to the cause of Harijan advancement in the 1920's, led him to initiate a program of hostels for students. This resulted in 1945 in the development of a system of college organized by the People's Education Society.[7] Eleanor Zelliot sums up the contribution of Ambedkar to Harijan education in India as follows:

> While Ambedkar exhorted numerous conferences of Untouchables to expand their educational opportunities at every level, much of his own effort was aimed at producing highly educated men, capable of raising the image of the Untouchable through their ability to function at the highest level of Indian urban society.[8]

Ambedkar also wanted to have separate electorates and legislature seats reserved for Harijans as well as special quotas in educational institutions. With this Gandhi disagreed absolutely. At the first Round Table Conference held in London in 1930 to decide the question of separate electorates Ambedkar spoke for the Harijans. At the Second Round Table Conference, held in London in 1931 when Gandhi was also present, he objected to the formation of separpate electorates for the Untouchables because he thought it would perpetuate the practice of Untouchability.

However, in 1932 the British Government announced the "Communal Award" in which separate elelctorates were provided for the Untouchables.[9] Gandhi's response to this British move was to enter a "fast unto death."[10] The British Government's response to Gandhi was to declare that a solution to this representation of the Depressed Classes had to be settled within the Hindu Community.[11] Ambedkar then took the cause of the Depressed Castes to Hindu leaders, while Gandhi was still fasting. This led to the Poona Pact[12] in which Ambedkar traded the concept of separate electorate for increased number of reserved seats for Untouchable legislators--from the seventy- eight given in the Communal Award to 148 seats in provincial legislatures (Madras 30, Bihar and Orissa 18, Bombay 15, Central Provinces 20, Punjab 8, Assam 7, Bengal 30, United provinces 20).[13] This was a victory for Ambedkar and the Untouchables. In accordance with the Poona pact Untouchables also received 18% of the seats in Central Legislature. The agreement also stated: "every endeavour shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in Public Service, that adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities for the Untouchables in every Province in India."[14]

The Poona pact also became the basis for the Government of India Act of 1935, in which for the first time ever the rights and privileges of Untouchables were clearly defined. Gandhi and Ambedkar were undoubtedly important in bringing about the changes in the socio-economic conditions of the Harijans. Nevertheless, their approaches have resulted in a contradiction for the Harijans.

Although Gandhi was opposed to Untouchability and all that is associated with it, he chose not to attack the caste system which was the source of Untouchability. In fact, Gandhi wanted to maintain caste system intact, and perhaps reestablish the status quo as it existed in the vedic times, i.e., the four-fold division of society with the Untouchables included within the Shudra caste. His plan to make Orthodox Hindus to change their minds regarding Untouchability was bound to be unsuccessful, for Untouchability has always been an integral part of Hindu religion and ritual. Moreover, Gandhi had wanted to raise the status of Harijans and presumably the Shudras, to that of the Brahmin upper castes, even while the

former continued to perform their traditional menial occupations. He wrote: "One born as a scavenger must earn his livelihood by being a scavenger."[15] This was very serious contradiction, trying to ignore the soical stigma of the Harijans' occupations while attempting to integrate them higher in the Indian caste hierarchy. In caste based India a person's social status depended upon the occupational category to which he and his ancestors belonged. As long as Harijans continue to be found in stigmatized work, there could not be any changes in their social rank. The upper castes would not accept them as equals. The Gandhian approach did not encourage Harijans toward independent political power and economic freedom, two of the basic conditions for social status in any society. Gandhi did not believe education was the *sine qua non* for the Harijans. They faced a problem of both lowly occupation and lack of meaningful education. Therefore, Gandhi's views pertaining to Harijan situation concealed a "limit-situation" and a contradiction.

Ambedkar's approach also produced a contradiction. Although he was instrumental in winning for Harijans (a) political representation (b) large number of Constitutional provisions for their welfare of and (c) measures for removing the social barriers for their education and employment, economic constraints prevented majority of the Harijans from fully utilizing these newly won concessions. This victory did very little to undermine the social disabilities of Harijans rooted in their extreme economic dependence on dominant castes. Institutional changes notwithstanding, the continuing real lack of educational qualifications prevents Harijans from gaining higher status through better-paid employment. Consequently the majority of the Harijans continue in their deprived conditions performing their traditional occupations. In other words, Ambedkar' programs for the Harijan social uplift did not help to emanicipate the Harijans from their low-caste status. Ambedkar's approach may be fundamentally flawed since he viewed "Untouchability" ahistorically as a purely non-economic and non-class problem. It is also possible that Ambedkar failed in fully understanding the "limit-situations" of the Untouchables. Ambedkar's approach helped the few elite Harijans and thereby created contradiction of social class *within* the Harijan group. The majority of Harijans could not benefit from the protective discrimination policies

available for their educational and economic uplift.

B. Approach of National Congress towards Harijan Problems

Although the members of the Indian National Congress were modern in their own outlook and political aspirations, they were conservative and traditional in their methods of political mobilization. The Congress Party membership during its earlier days was drawn from various vested interest groups in the country, such as the landed aristocracy, the religious groups, and the political power seekers. Its leaders were from English-educated upper class, and did not represent the general populace or middle class Indians. Caste and kinship ties were the prominent features among the early Congress and its leaders. As long as the group interests of these upper class elites could be served, it was not necessary to seek changes in the social conditions of the masses, especially the depressed classes or Untouchables.

Internal pressures, domination of the organization by class, caste and vested interests, especially the landowing upper classes made the National Congress Party ineffective in regard to the concerns of the masses, especially those of the Untouchables, who were subject to political and economic oppression at the hands of the very landowning classes who supported the Congress. The Harijans, living in poverty, were not organized, and were not represented in any political organization. Moreover, they had no recognized leaders to raise their social and economic concerns with local politicians. Therefore, Harijans as a group suffered politically, socially and economically from lack of political "muscle."

C. 1947 and After: Constitution and State Policies

When India gained independence from the British in 1947 most of the States in India had passed laws removing civil disabilities of Harijans. But the leaders of Independent India, including Nehru and Ambedkar, were not satisfied with this. They wanted to see more concrete steps taken for the amelioration of the Harijans' social situation through legal provisions of the Central Government. Therefore, the Constitution of India(January 26, 1950) (Ambedkar was the chief draftsman of this document) included many provisions for

the protection of Harijans, who continued to be officially designated as "Scheduled Castes." The Constitution made provisions for protective measures and safeguards for the Scheduled Castes. The government's successive Five Year Plans have included monetary allocations to implement policies to improve the Harijans' social and educational situation. Table 1 indicates the amount of money Government of India has spent to achieve the welfare of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities.

The Constitution of India prescribes protection for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes in two ways. First the Constitution mentions the protective measures to be adopted. Secondly, the Constitution insists that the members of these communities have general rights as other citizens of the country, and these rights should serve the purpose of protecting their educational and economic interests and of removing their social disabilities.

Article 17 of the Constitution of India specifically included statements prohibiting the practice of Untouchability. On 29th April, 1948 the Constituent Assembly declared:

> Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form forbidden. The enforcement of any disability out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.[16]

This article was intended to remove the socio-religious disabilities practised against Harijans. The Constitution-makers of India knew full well that removal of Untouchability was a pre-condition for amelioration of hardship of a large proportion of population.

Article 15 banned discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex and guaranteed certain fundamental rights to all citizens.

Article 15(2) specifically states:

> No citizen shall on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them be subject to any disability, liability restriction or condition with regard to
> a. access to shops, public restraunts, hotels and places of public entertainment; or
> b. the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintianed wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.[17]

Article 29(2) forbids denial of cultural and educational rights to any person who is a citizen of India. It reads:

Table 1

Government Spending Under the Five Year Plans For Harijan Socio-economic Improvement

	Period	Expenditure (Rupees in Crore)
First Plan	1951-56	30.04
Second Plan	1956-61	79.41
Third Plan	1961-66	100.40
Fourth Plan	1966-69	68.50
Fifth Plan	1969-74	172.70
Sixth Plan (out lay)	1980-85	
(i)Central Sector		240.00
(ii) State Sector		720.00
(iii) Special Central assistance for sub plans for tribal areas		470.00
(iv) Special Central Assistance for the Development of Scheduled Castes		600.00

Source: *India 1983*, A Reference Annual (New Delhi: Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India), p. 143

> No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.[18]

This clause was intended to prevent the upper castes from restricting Harijans from using roads, temples, water-sources, and schools as had been the case for centuries.

Although the Constitution directed the Parliament to make laws prescribing punishment for acts contravening fundamental rights, it was not until five years later in 1955 that parliament passed the Untouchability(offences) Act. This Act which came into force on June 1, 1955 outlawed the enforcement of disabilites "on the ground of Untouchability":

> in regards to entrance and worship at temples, access to shops and restraunts, practice of occupations and trades, use of water resources, places of public resort and accommodation, public conveyances, hospitals, educational institutions, construction and occupation of residential premises, holding of religious ceremonies and processions, and use of jewellery and finery. The imposition of disabilities is made a crime and punishable by fine up to Rs. 500 (approximately $ 50.00) and/or imprisonment for up to six months, and suspension of licences and public grants.[19]

This Act was to provide penalties for preventing Harijans and other low castes from benefiting from the provisions mentioned in Articles 15 and 17. Article 17, along with Untouchability(Offences) Act of 1955 in theory abolished the centuries-old practice of Untouchability.

A sum of Rs.61,50,746 was spent on the implementation of these provisions during the First Five Year Plan(1951-56) and Rs.1.20 Crore during the second Five Year Plan.[20] During the First Five Year Plan period the main emphasis was on propaganda and publicity for the abolition of Untouchability. The Government has provied funds for this purpose to large number of organizations and volunteer agencies.

The Second Plan allocated Rs.21.47 Crores in the Plans of the States and Rs.5.64 crores under the centrally sponsored schemes for the welfare of the Harijans.[21]

For enlarging the scope of this Act and making the punishment more stringent, the Untouchability(Offences) Act of 1955 has been amended on November 19, 1976 and the name of the Act has been changed to the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955.

Government policies for Harijan socio-economic improvement can be categorized as follows:

D. Educational Policies

Education has been the major field of government endeavour for Harijan socio-economic improvement. The central Government involvement in this area has been in providing post-matriculation scholarships. The Scholarship plan began in 1944-45 granting financial assistance to students from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes who were studying in post-matriculation institutions. Starting with only 114 awards for scheduled Caste students in 1944-45 and 89 for Scheduled Tribes in 1948-49, the estimated number of awards to both groups had reached 4.90 lakhs in 1979-80, 5.65 lakhs in 1980-81, 6.55 lakhs in 1981-82 and approximately 7.50 lakhs in 1982-83.[22] Restrictive conditions of scholarships to only two children of the same parents has also been relaxed in favour of girl students from 1980-81.[23] This was intended to encourage the education of Scheduled Caste women. Government of India has also been providing financial assistance to the state government and union territory administration for the building and expansion of the existing hostels for girls belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. During the Sixth Plan an amount of 13 crore (130 million rupees) have been provided for this purpose.[24]

Recently, in 1978, the Government of India started another popular scheme known as the pre-matric scholarships intended for the educational development of children studying in classes VI-X, whose parents are engaged in the so-called unclean occupations: scavenging of dry latrines, tanning and flaying (traditionally the occupation of the Harijans).[25] An amount of Rs. 145.00 per month is given to each student under the scheme.[26] The sixth Five Year Plan makes provision for 8 crore Rupees for this scheme.[27]

Provision of hostel facilities for Harijan students has been another feature in the promotion of education among Harijans. Both the central and state Governments contribute to the provision of hostel facilities. These hostels are intended to provide residential facilities for large number of Harijan students who do not live within the commuting distance of

schools and colleges. These facilities are presumably intended to help the Harijan students to overcome the traditional disadvantages of their deprived home environment. During the Sixth Plan (1980-85) a sum of Rs.13 crore has been provided for the construction of new hostels and to expand the existing ones in areas where adequate facilities for girls belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not available.[28]

In addition to this financial aid, students from the Scheduled Caste have been exempted from tution fees at all levels of educational institutions, including professional and technical training institutions. As a result, a large number of Scheduled Caste students have tried to take advantage of the educational programs initiated by the Central and State governments. Moreover, the Constitution also directs the States to make special provisions for the uplift of Harijans through education and employment. Article 46 of the Constitution states:

> The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.[29]

In accordance with the Constitutional provisions, state governments are required to reserve certain per centage of seats for Scheduled Caste students in professional and technical training institutions. The provision of reservation is aimed at assisting Harijan students overcoming restrictions to their admission to educational institutions whether they are rooted in caste discrimination or in their inability to measure up to the performance level of more advantaged students.[30] The provision of reservation to educational institutions was instituted in 1954 by the Ministry of Education.

E. Recruitment to State Services and General Employment

Articles 335 and 16(4) of the Constitution of India require the State to reserve certain per centage of posts in the civil service employment for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Accordingly, the Government of India made provision for reservation of 15 per cent of vacancies in the civil service employment to which recruitment is made by open competition on an all-India basis and 16 2/3 per cent of posts to which recruitment is made

otherwise.[31]The objective of this provision is to facilitate occupational mobility for Scheduled Castes in every category of government employment. Reservation in direct recruitment to Class III and Class IV positions is fixed in proportion to the population of the Scheduled Castes in the respective states and union territories. Reservation is also made at 15 per cent of the vacancies for Scheduled Castes in promotion on the result of the competitive examinations limited to departmental candidates in Class II, Class III, and Class IV categories of civil service employment.[32]

State governments also have rules for the reservation of posts for Harijans in their civil services to increase the representation of Harijans. Reservation of posts for Harijans are also followed in public sector undertakings. Voluntary agencies receiving grants-in-aid from the government are required to adopt the reservation scheme in favour of Harijans in their establishments.[33]

In addition to these reservation relaxation age limit and qualification have been made in regard to civil service employment. The objective of all these provisions have been to facilitate occupational mobility for Harijans in every category of state employment, thus consolidating the educational gains they have made.

In order to improve the representation of Scheduled Castes in various categories of employment under the Central and state Governments and public sector undertakings, pre-examination and coaching centers have been set up in various parts of the country for preparing the students from these communities for competitive examinations held by the Union and state Public Service Commissions. There were sixty such centers in March 1983.[34]

F. Special Electoral Representation

One of the most important concessions made to the Harijans by the Government of India has to do with political representation. This provision in fact, is an extension of the earlier provision of safeguards granted to the minorities, including the Scheduled Castes, by the colonial government.

Articles 330, 332, and 334 of the Constitution guarantee Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes special representation in the Loksabha and State Vidhan Sabhas. This concession was initially for a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution in 1950, but has been extended, by amendment, till January 1990. These seats are proportionate to the Harijan population in the states. Currently, out of a total of 542 seats in the Loksabha 79 seats have been reserved for Scheduled Castes. In the Vidhan Sabhas, out of a total of 3997 seats, 557 also have been reserved for them.[35]

With the introduction of Panchayat Raj, Harijans have also been granted representation in the grama panchayats and other local bodies. The objective of these provisions for political representation has been to give Harijans adequate representation in the law-making bodies of the country thus making them part of the decision making process which affect their lives.

G. Other Institutional Arrangements

Article 338 of the Constitution makes provision for the appointment of a Commission for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes consisting of a chairman and four members including the special officer known as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This Commission was set up in August 1978.[36] The Commission is to

> investigate all matters relating to Constitutional safeguards, reservation in public services, to study the implementation of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, with particular reference to the objective of removal of untouchability and invidious discrimination arising there from, and to ascertain the socio-economic and other relevant circumstances responsible for the commission of offences against persons belonging to scheduled castes and tribes with a view to recommend appropriate remedial measures.[37]

In addition to this, both the central and state governments also have separate departments to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Union Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for the formulation and implementation of programs for the welfare of Harijans and other backward classes in consultation with the state governments.

The Government of India set up three parliamentary committees, in 1968, 1971, and 1973 to examine the implementation of the Constitutional safeguards for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This committe has since been constituted as a standing committee of parliament which consists of thirty members, twenty from Loksabha and ten from the Rajya Sabha.[38]

In addition, a number of voluntary organizations such as Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bharatiya Depressed Classes League, Iswar Saran Ashram, Ramakrishna Mission are engaged in activities to improve the welfare of Harijans. The Government of India provides grants-in-aid to these organizations.

The Constitution also makes provision for the appointment of the Backward Classes Commission. As mentioned before, the term Backward Classes is not defined in the Constitution. The Backward Classes Commission determines who the Backward Classes are. Accordingly the Commission in 1955 listed 2399 castes as backward, and recommended that these groups be made eligible for benefits similar to those enjoyed by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Caste was the chief criterion used by the Commission for inclusion on the list. The Government of India rejected the list and on August 14, 1961, the Home Ministry wrote to the state governments asking them to do away with the caste criterion and adopt instead income as criterion for deciding backwardness.[39] In fact, the Constitution empowers the states to make special provisions for the socio economic advancement of the Backward Classes. Articles 15(4), 16(4), 29(2), give special powers to the states to make scholastic and employment reservations for Backward Classes, who are said to be socially, educationally and economically backward. Article 16(4) states:

> Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the Service under the State.[40]

Article 29(2) a corollary of Art. 15(4) reads:

> Nothing in clause(2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes and citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.[41]

The policies of positive discrimination and Constitutional provisions discussed above were embodied by (or in) Ambedkar's proposals. The legal, political and educational provisions incorporated in the Constitution are supposed to help to remove caste discrimination and inequality which Harijans have suffered under for centuries.

Both the central and state governments have given high priorities for the education of Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Education has been assigned the role to facilitate social change for these weaker sections. This has not happened as we shall see in the next chapter.

End Notes

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2 M.K.Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiment with Truth*, Quoted by B.T. Ranadive, "Caste, Class and Property Relations," *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol.14 (1979), p. 77.

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4 E. Zelliot, *Dr. Ambedkar and the Mahar Movement*, Ph.D. Disertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969, pp. 116-117.

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16 R.G. Revankar, *The Indian Constitution*: A case study of Backward Classes (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Press, Inc., 1971), p. 53.

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20 J.C.Kamble, *Rise and Awakening of Depressed Classes in India* (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1979), p. 233.

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23 *Ibid.*

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27 A.B. Bose, "Educational Development Among Scheduled Castes," *Man in India*, vol. 50 (1970), p. 209.

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30 Suma Chitnis, *A Long Way to Go* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1981), p. 117.

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35 *INDIA 1981*, "A Reference Annual" (New Delhi: Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India), p. 122.

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38 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

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V. Policy Failure–Conceptual Explanations

So far we have examined the historical transition of Indian society from before the British occupation through colonization to the post-Independence period. We have examined a number of changes in society and education which were as a result of British policies in India. Most of these changes were from effects of British imperialism, and they in turn led to other social changes which affected Indian people of all walks of life. Since Independence, the Government of India has modified some British policies. In many areas it has introduced changes along democratic lines. For example, the abolition of Untouchability and the practice of reverse discrimination for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, was an extension of the British policy, and it has produced far-reaching changes in the life of many people from these communities.

As a result of this policy the Government of India has set apart large amounts of money for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Schedules Tribes and Backward Classes. The Government has been attempting to cause beneficial social changes for the poorer sections of India through a number of schemes initiated both by central and the state governments. (See Table 1 for figures of government spending during the Five Year Plans)

These government plans have sought to improve the socio-economic position of the Harijans through education. Education has been the key instrument chosen by Government of India to bring about the improvement of opportunities for and the removal of Harijan socio-economic disabilities and for social change in general. The Education Commission states:

> One of the important social objectives of education is to equalise opportunity, enabling the backward or underprivilaged classes and individuals to use education as a lever for the improvement of their condition. Every society that values social justice and is anxious to improve the lot of common man and cultivate all available talent must ensure progressive equility of opportunity to all sections of the population. This is the only guarantee for the building up of an egalitarian and human society in which the exploitation of the weak will be minimised.[1]

Similar statements are also found in the Five Year Plan documents. (see page 1 and 2 of Introduction).

In conformity with these statements and the provisions in the Constitution, education of Harijans has received priority from the Government of India in all its Five Year Plans. Of the total of 72 Crores spent on the welfare of the Scheduled Castes during the first three Five Year Plans, Rs. 42.16 crores (59%) was spent on education.[2]

But in spite of these efforts Harijans continue to lag behind the general population in educational achievement. Neither has Education produced the ameliorative nor equalising effect anticipated by the Constitution-makers. The newly created educational opportunities remain restricted to the few in terms of social and economic status.[3] In other words, the educational opportunities have been utilized mostly by the upper strata of the Indian society. Instead of causing ameliorative social changes expanded educational facilities have worked in favour of the upper strata of society, leaving the poor, including majority of the Harijans further behind in terms of literacy and occupational status deriving from education. For example, notwithstanding government efforts to combat illiteracy among Harijan groups during the past four decades, their literacy rate remains half that of the general population. In 1961 90% of the Harijans were illiterate. With efforts the literacy levels rose from 10.3% in 1961 to 14.7% at the end of the 1961-1971 decade and to 21.38% at the end of 1971-1981 decade. Table 2 illustrates this.

Similarly, the official policy of "protective discrimination" in civil service employment has not succeeded to the point where Harijans' proportion of the government job matches their proportion in the general population. Table 3 presents the distribution of Harijans in various categories of civil service employment.

As shown in Table 3 attemps to improve Harijan representation in civil service through education have not produced any significant results. Table 3 further shows that most of the wage earning Harijans are still employed in the lowest category recorded. Their representation in the top categories of civil service has improved only marginally during the 24 year period. (The category of sweepers is not included here, in which Harijan representation is about 90%).

Table 2

Per cent Literate: Scheduled Castes and General Populations, India 1961, 1971 and 1981

Population Group	Per cent Literate								
	1961			1971			1981		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
General Population	24.0	34.5	13.0	29.5	39.5	18.7	36.17	46.74	24.88
Scheduled Caste Population	10.3	17.0	3.3	14.7	22.5	6.4	21.38	31.12	10.26

Source: P.H. Rayappa and Deepak Grover, *Employment Planning for the Rural Poor: The case Study of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers PVT Ltd, 1978), p. 24. For 1981 figures see Census of India 1981.

Table 3

Distribution of Scheduled Caste Representation in Various Categories of Employment Under the Government of India

Group (Class)	As of January 1, 1959			As of January 1, 1966			As of January 1, 1983		
	Total Number of Employees	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Castes Percentage	Total Number of Employees	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Castes Percentage	Total Number of Employees	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Castes Percentage
A(class I)	10,403	123	1.18	20,379	361	1.77	52,773	2,883	5.46
B(class II)	20,501	488	2.38	30,001	974	3.25	62,955	5,298	8.42
C(class III)	829,471	57,625	6.95	1,117,754	99,017	8.86	1,876,784	243,028	12.95
D(class IV) (Excluding sweepers)	914,705	157,704	17.24	1,176,826	211,073	17.94	1,235,016	238,989	19.35
Total	1,775,080	215,940	12.16	2,344,960	311,425	13.28	3,227,528	490,198	15.19

source: J.R.Kamble, *Rise and Awakening of Depressed Classes in India* (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1979), p. 236. For 1983 figures, see India, 1983, P. 41(1981 figures are used here).

Although the provision of educational benefits and financial incentives to Harijans has been well intended, the assumptions regarding social improvement, as Suma Chitnis points out, were naive. The planners and policy makers assumed:

> a.that the facility provided would be optimally and equitably used,
> b. that given the opportunities for school and college education members of the Scheduled Castes would measure up on par with those who are backed by a tradition of formal education and
> c. that the policy of reservation would best serve the attainment of equality for the Scheduled castes.[4]

After reviewing the educational attainment of Harijans and their representation in various categories of public services employment from the last 30 years, Chitnis concluded that these assumptions were ill founded.[5] Instead of reducing inequalities, modern education has perpetuated the old inequalities based on caste and created new ones based on income, status and power. Good education continues, as in the colonial days, to be a privilege of a small rich upper strata and is an instrument for the perpetuation of inequalities benefiting them rather than effecting social change to the Harijans' benefit.

Looking at the slow gains in better employment among the Harijans, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes said in his report of 1970-71:

> The orders regarding reservation of posts for Scheduled Castes and Tribes have been in force for more than two decades. The position regarding the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in all Classes except Class IV is still lagging far behind the prescribed level.[6]

A number of studies support this statement.[7] They point to the fact that the hope of transforming the socio-economic position of the Harijans through education, employment, and resulting economic advancement has not occurred. The impact of education on reducing social stratificaion, or on promoting social change by reducing social distance among the strata in the Indian society has been very limited.[8] As G. Myrdal points out, "the educational system reflects and, in turn reinforces the inequalities in the social structure."[9] The following limit-situations cause or result in the failure of the government policies.

A. Class Nature of Indian Education

In 1949, the Radhakrishnan Commission report declared, "Education is a universal right, not a class privilege."[10] In spite of this statement and Constitutional provisions to make education freely available to all citizens, particularly the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes, Indian education continues to be a class privilege. As mentioned in Chapter II (pp. 43-47) education continues to best serve a small rich class in the society.

Private participation in education since 1947, similar to those of the colonial period, has resulted in a large number of English medium schools from which the masses, especially the Harijans are excluded. In 1982, 44% of India's primary schools and 66% of all secondary schools were private.[11] These schools are run by several special interest groups ranging from private corporations, to religious, denominational groups. For example about 80% of all Secondary Schools in Kerala are owned and managed by groups of Christians, Nairs, Ezhavas and Muslims. Government policy of establishing model schools and Central Schools for the children of Central Government employees, including those in the armed forces, also contributes to the perpetuation of class education and inequality in the society. As one writer puts it, "The wheel turns in full circle as in achievement-oriented societies, socio-economic inequality is the cause as well as the effect of educational inequality."[12] The distribution of educational services in India is so uneven that a majority of the poor including bulk of the Harijans cannot afford higher education. In a country where the majority of the people are illiterate, the few members of the educated elite enjoy considerable value and prestige for their education. Consequently they have tight control over the socio-economic and educational institutions of the country. Pranb K.Bardhan points out this situation well:

> By managing to direct educational investment away from the masses, they have been able to protect their scarcity rent, and by acquiring licence-giving powers at various levels of bureaucracy some of them have increased their capacity to multiply this rental income. It seems the older rentier class in Indian society, deriving its income from absentee landlordism has now been replaced by the new rentier elements in the privileged bureaucracy, and not infrequently they both belong to similar social status groups and castes.[13]

The government policy to bring about social change by improving the socio-economic condition of the Harijans has failed because the concept of equality of educational

opportunity for all individuals irrespective of their economic status, is equally consistent with the economic individualism which is accepted by the Indian Constitution. When unequal groups are competing on an equal basis for educational opportunities and for the advantages deriving from them, the competition works in favour of the powerful classes and elites. In fact, Indian education has been instrumental in the circulation of elite roles.[14]

Another factor which has contributed in a major way to the maintenance of the class nature of Indian education is the State subsidization of education, particularly Higher education. In conformity with the provisions in the Constitution and the policies of the government, education has been subsidized at all levels. But these subsidies are not really the egalitarian instrument they are supposed to be. Instead of helping the poorer sections by subsidy, all sections are given equal help at the higher educational levels. The "equal" benefits from higher education go disproportionately to the higher inccome groups because of their disproportionate representation at this level. For the vast majority of Indians, including the landless Harijans, the cost of education is so high that they cannot afford to keep their children in schools or send them to universities as the upper classes do. In other words, the State subsidy of higher education reinforces the socio-economic inequality in the society. This is one way the elites retain their superior position in Indian society. In this connection Jagdish Bhagwati points out that the benefits of higher education can be handed out to elite groups by the State without obvious disaffection of the poor if they are handed via the educational system which, is open at least in principle to all castes, and therefore conceals its inegalitarian outcome.[15]

The system also creates a sense of mobility among the weaker sections since a small number of individuals from these communities are able to obtain better-paid jobs in government services as a result of educational subsidization and reservation. In the case of majority of the Harijans the state subsidization of higher education works little to their advantage, since the subsidy is only at the higher educational level and very few of them reach that level to take advantage of it. Therefore, government policy of maintaining the three-tier system of education, and subsidization of higher education for all citizens on an egalitarian

basis perpetuates socio-economic inequality. It defeats the purpose of constitutional provisions for the Harijans and other weaker sections of the society. It counteracts "protective discrimination."

B. Policy Failure due to lack of Structural Changes in the Society

Schools in any society function as agent of the larger social, economic and political institutions that support them. All educational systems serve their respective societies in such a way that the social, economic and political relationships of the educational system will reproduce those parallel relations of the society of which schools are a part. As noted before, Indian society has status inequality among its population. Therefore, the inequalities of the society are naturally seen in schools in terms of the unequal educational outcome among the population. In other words, the difference in quality of education and levels of educational attainments among various sections of the society is only a reflection of the inequalities in the society at large.

With Constitutional provisions and government policies independent India tried to bring about social change through education without causing any major structural changes in the social, economic and political structure of the society. Government policies were not aimed at "eradication" of the caste system *per se*. The educational system inherited from the British corresponds to the socio-economic and political institutions of India. The three-tier system we have mentioned before corresponds to the hierarchical system caste/class division of Indian society. Organization of education along caste and communal lines certainly fits neatly into the preferences of the ruling upper caste elites.

Education has been assigned the role of producing social reform, with no parallel attempt for far-reaching structural transformation. In other words, education is expected to play a role in the furtherence of economic growth and social change, within the present socio-economic structural framework.[16] In its organization and content education has also, in fact, performed the very important function of reproducing the socio-economic and political relations of a caste/class based society. The constitutional provisions and government policies

did very little to reduce socio-economic disparity among varous sections of the population. In other words, the inequality of the society based on caste, economic relations and political arrangement continue as before. Therefore attempts to improve the socio-economic condition of the Harijans through Constitutional provisions failed to produce the intended results. As mentioned before, the bulk of the educational resources in the country are organized in such a way as to obtain educational outcomes consistent with the expectations of the elites. In the case of the Harijans education has not helped them to overcome the traditional barriers of oppression and poverty. The strategies planned for Harijan socio-economic mobility have not delivered intended results with an inegalitarian society. As Henry M. Levin puts it, "Educational planning cannot be used to rid societies of repression, inequality, injustice and alienation of the youth and adults without changes in the institutions that create these conditions in the first place."[17]

C. Poverty

Poverty of the Harijan family limits the opportunity of Harijans in fully utilizing even the third-rate facilities available to them. Although education in India up to secondary school level is free, the majority of Harijan parents find it difficult to send their children to school. They find it hard to meet the simple day-to-day expenses such as food, clothing, transportation and stationery. Harijan parents need their older children either as wage earners or to look after younger ones while the parents are at work. In many instances older children have part-time jobs to supplement the family income. The typical situation faced by most Harijans is described by a Harijan mother as follows:

> You need a shirt and a pair of short pants for a child to go to school. These cost Rs.14 (about $1.50) and last 6 months. It costs Rs.10 (about a dollar) a month to send one child to school. That is a lot for us. If on the other hand, you keep your son away from school, he can start working at the age of eight or nine. He can take a landlord's cattle for grazing and get paid Rs.25 and an eighty-two pound bag of wheat a month.[18]

Report of the Program Evaluation Organization (PEO) of the Planning Commission in its report in 1964 also indicates that financial difficulty is the number one cause among the villagers, of not sending their children to school, particularly among the landless labourers

(53.8% boys and 27.2% girls).[19] According to National Sample Survey(NSS) data, the percentage of rural people falling below the poverty line has gone up significantly from 38 per cent in 1960-61 (Rs.14 a month per person) to 54 per cent in 1968-69 (Rs.28 a month per person).[20] Majority of the rural Harijans live below the poverty line. Consequently, education is beyond their means, despite various government incentives to improve Harijan education.

The result is that few students complete their high school education and even fewer go to University. In 1977-78 only 75% of the Harijan children in the 6-11 year old age-group were in school, compared to 88% of the other caste children.[21] Only 26% of the 11-14 year old Harijan children were in school compared to 42% of the others.[22] Economic reasons such as high cost and low returns are the major reasons for the restricted access of the poor and bottom strata to educational opportunities.[23] Caste and Untouchability are no longer the most important barrier to schooling.[24]

All of this points to the fact that government plans have helped only a small minority of Harijans, those who had the means to meet the expense of their children's education. In many cases Government scholarships and stipends are quite inadequate. For example in the national survey of Harijan students in 1975 conducted by Suma Chitnis found that only 8% of the high school and 13% of the college students said that the entire cost of their education was supported by freeships and scholarships. 38% of the school students and 12% of the college students were supported by parents or other relatives. Another 49% of the school students and 67% of the college students received some support from home.[25] The poorest Harijans continue to be poor and education has not contributed to their material well-being. On the other hand the wealthier (upper/caste) exploit the educational facilities to their advantage thereby widening the gap between the rich and the poor. In essence the high ideals, which the fathers of the nation held helped to widen the gap between the upper and the lower classes or groups in the country. As indicated before, in 1960-61 only 38 per cent of the rural people were below the poverty line. This has gone up to 54 per cent in 1968-69. Since majority of the Harijans are living in rural areas, this situation may have adversely affected their ability to provide education for their children. This indicates that for majority of Harijans education

has not served as an effective tool for mobility.

D. Lack of Primary Economic Base

Another factor which limits educational advancement for Harijans is the absence of a primary economic base for them. In India 90% of Harijans live in rural villages.[26] Very few of them own land. According to the 1971 Census 52% of Scheduled Caste workers in the country were agricultural labourers. The efforts made by the Government of India in recent years to distribute surplus agricultural land has had only minimal impact in improving the situation of the landless Harijans. Landowners, anticipating the land ceiling acts in various states transferred their surplus land to their sons, daughters, and other relatives. In Punjab it was reported that some landowners had placed land in the name of their dogs to avoid its loss and in West Bengal horses were used for the same purpose.[27] The entire exercise of limiting the size of landholdings in India has been more symbolic than real.

A powerful nexus between the big landowners, politicians and the bureaucracy prevents any change from occurring in the status quo.[28]

Because of their low income and lack of ownership of land or other assets, the majority of the Harijans still depend on landlords, money lenders, traders and other non-institutional source for credit needs.[29] A substantial portion of their borrowings are used to meet subsistence needs[30] rather than for the education of their children or for capital investment. The fact that the banks and other lending institutions do not lend money to poor peasants and farmers compounds their social and economic plight. By turning to the landed or local money lender they pay userous interest rates, sometimes up to 100%. Under such circumstances lack of capital and other resources plus userous costs of borrowing which act as a barrier to schooling for many Harijans. This type of borrowing by the Harijans continue to keep them and their families in bondage to the rich, which is further tied to the all powerful laws of Karma and Dharma.

In a country where land is still the most important element in the rural economy and the primary source of all political and economic power, landless Harijans are at a

disadvantage for finances for the education of their children. A large portion of the productive assets in the country are still concentrated in the hands of minority who are at the center of the economic and political power structure. The upper and middle castes, even today, are the sole possessors of most arable land in the country, and it provides them continuing economic and political power base. In 1961-62, and in 1971-72, the richest 10% in India owned half of the total assets (mainly agricultural land) of the country, while the poorest 10% of the rural house-holds owned only 0.1% of the land.[31] Data from the 17th round of National Sample Survey (NSS) 1960-61 show that nearly 42 per cent of rural households had operated holdings less than one acre and accounted for 1.3 per cent of total area operated. On the other hand, 4.5 per cent of households operated holdings in excess of 20 acre and their share in total area was 35 per cent.[32] Land reform laws ostensibly passed for the benefit of the underprivileged have not altered India's village structure basically.[33] Because of the unequal distribution of productive land in India, land which generates wealth, rural landless Harijans are unable to bear the cost of education. This contributes to early drop-out for many Harijan students. In 1965, NCERT survey found that drop-out rate among the Scheduled Caste students was three times higher than that of the upper caste children.[34] Nationwide statistics of levels of drop-out for Scheduled Castes are not available. However, several more local studies of states indicate that the drop-out rate continues to be a major problem for Scheduled Castes. For example, Jacob Aikara's study (1971-73) in ten colleges in Bombay found that 77% of the Scheduled Caste student who had enroled in 10 colleges either have "stagnated" or dropped out as compared to 48% of the non-Scheduled Caste students.[35] A survey conducted by the University Grants Commission in fifteen states in 1965-66 found that among the 4,100 Scheduled Caste students who appeared for undergraduate and post-graduate degrees in all subjects, only 36% passed.[36]

Indian education continues to favour the rich or the upper strata of the society. The educational system has not only increased the socio-economic inequalities, it has also created new ones based on power, status and influence. For the majority of the Harijans, education has not provided the tools to combat inequalities. Education *per se* has had little impact in

reducing their socio-economic deprivation among the majority of the Harijans. Constitutional affirmative action and government policies have done very little to change the status quo.

The social condition of the Harijans cannot improve until they are politically conscious of their deprived condition. They must organize to fight against their subjugation. This does not necessarily mean actions on the part of Harijans which seem revolutionary to others. This does not necessarily mean stirring up violence or overthrowing the government. It could be done through democratic prcocess, by organizing themselves as a body and fight the oppression, politically. Freire says: "It is absolutely essential that the oppressed participate in the revolutionary process with an increasingly critical awareness of their role as subjects of the transformation."[37]

Protective discrimination or Constitutional provisions cannot achieve this. The revolutionary action has to be initiated by Harijans themselves and their true leaders. Freire also says: "A revolution is achieved with neither verbalism nor activism, but rather with praxis, that is, with reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed."[38]

The Harijans are still submerged in the "culture of silence": and their "dominated consciousness" which has not yet perceived their situation as a "limit situation" in its totality.[39] The upper class elites of India have kept the Harijans divided into various regional, communal, and political groups so that they cannot organize themselves on a large enough scale to throw off the yoke of oppression. They have to overcome this limit-situation through "cultural action" thereby liberating themselves *and* their oppressors. "Cultural action" here means overcoming the antagonistic contradiction of the social structure. To irradicate the extreme form of inequality they have been subjected to, Harijans need access to the power structure, which in turn is governed by land ownership. At present, access to power is denied to them because they do not possess sufficient productive assets in the country. In order to change this situation Harijans need to use political power both in the central government and the state government levels, through true Harijan representation. The organized representatives could stand and fight against class and caste privilege and for the cause of Harijans without fear of political consequences (Ambedkar was such a leader). This would

give them power, power to make decisions, power to gain freedom from manipulators and access to social energy and wealth. Then they can *participate in the educational process effectively* for themselves, their children and their successors. And here in lies the crux of the situation vis-a-vis education and social change. In the absence of a secure economic power base, Harijans cannot exert any control over other social institutions (politics, religion, education etc.,). The few educated Harijans of today cannot affect or promote any change for the larger Harijan majority, since they are silenced either by the limits of civil service employment or political office.

E. Family Background

Another "limit-situation" can be found in the family background of the Harijan children in the levels and distribution of educational outcomes including skills, and knowledge will be affected by the social, economic and political factor which are found in the family background and out-of-school experience of students.[40] In the case of Harijan students the family background provides very little school or other experience which is beneficial for them relative to their school performance. They not only come from economically poor background, but also from culturally and educationally distinctive homes. There is very little encouragement for children to succeed in education for the lower caste family. Although constitutional provisions provide encouragement to the Harijan children, the family background measured in terms of the occupational status and educational background of the parents counteracts this encouragement. Few mothers are literate enough to provide any help to their children. Parents cannot provide guidance or adult role models when their children are faced with failure in school. As a result the Harijan child drops out. More over, the financial resources of large number of Harijan parents do not permit them to provide a stimulating social and psychological environment which may be conducive to the educational success of their children. Jagdish Bhagwati points out this situation well:

> The psychological and sociological evidence on the importance of 'environmental' factors associated with formal rearing in critical ages of three to five, as also their impact at later ages in imparting educational motivation etc., also underlines the *de facto* inequality of opportunity that is likely to go with the accident of which income

class you are born into.[41]

Because of their poverty the majority of Harijans do not have the financial and cultural means to provide the enriched environment that the upper castes do for the early socialization of their children.

In education the child from uneducated--usually lower caste--home is at a disadvantage.[42] The adult roles and personal aspirations and goals which involve education found in the family is determined by the socio-economic circumstances of which the family is a part.[43] This perceived ceiling to aspirations causes the Harijan child to be at a scholastic disadvantage.

Sunila Malik in her study of the educational attainment of three generations of a Scheduled Caste population concludes that individuals who have higher levels of education and higher prestige jobs are the children of fathers who have comparatively higher socio-economic status.[44] Harijan illiteracy is partly attributable to the poor economic background. A majority of Harijan parents or their children could not achieve socio-economic rewards of education. Government policies have been able to do little to improve the economic condition of the Harijans. A Majority of them continue to live in their deprived condition as landless, unschooled agricultural labourers.

F. Caste Resistance towards Harijan Socio-Economic Mobility

Hindu Caste resistance towards Harijan social progress limits the success of government policy for Harijan socio-economic betterment through education. In pre-colonial India, as we have discussed in Chapter II, Harijans were excluded from the educational institutions which were in existence at that time. During the colonial period the social and economic transformation of the rural social structure, discussed in chapter III made the plight of the the Untouchables even more tragic. Their subordination to the propertied groups deepened while social exclusion from institutional life including education was intensified. From 1920 onwards, political and social mobilization against Untouchability and the caste system began to strengthen, but so did the resistance by the upper castes. Post-Independece

period is not an exception. Although the Constitution of India abolished Untouchability, and provision was made for special opportunities for Harijans' education, cultural and political life, the caste resistance continued to be a factor restricting improvement in the socio-economic condition of the Harijans, especially in relation to caste Hindus.

The cast system continue to be an important socio-economic force in India. The Brahmins have used it during the pre-colonial and colonial periods to maintain their superior power and wealth and have kept the Untouchables in a subserviant position. The British, where possible, used it to meet and satisfy their imperial purposes. Now, upper caste/class elites of modern India use it to maintain the neo-colonial hierarchical social order of India. The upper caste/class group continue to hold a dominant position in the areas of education and in the benefits and privileges derived from it. Harijans are at the bottom of the social ladder with very little education, and no wealth, or political power or influence. From the point of view of the people at the bottom, the caste system has functioned and continues to function as an effective method of exploitation.[45] In 1981, 48.22% of employed Harijans were agricultural labourers. Few of them owned any substantial amount of productive agricultural land. A majority of them were engaged in the work for members of the landholding upper caste/class. In other words, the majority of the rural Harijans belong to the lowest social class in the economic system.[46] Constitutional affirmative action and other government policies have been unsuccessful in improving the socio-economic condition of these landless Harijans.

In the hierarchical social structure of India, Harijans are destined to stay at the bottom. As Andre Beteille puts it:

> Although it is unrealistic to argue that the concept of Untouchability was invented to justify economic exploitation, it is nonetheless a fact that modern efforts to improve the condition of the Harijans have often been defeated by those who stand to gain from the Untouchable's social and economic inferiority.[47]

Along similar lines Srinivas argues that:

> While leaders of the dominant castes are sensitive to economic and political opportunities, they are socially conservative. They do not for instance like the condition of the Harijans to improve. They have a vested interest in keeping the Harijans poor and ignorant. At the present time Harijans are their most important source of [cheap] agricultural labour, and if they became educated and conscious of their rights they will be threat to the position of the dominant castes.[48]

Attempt by Harijans to improve their conditions through education and subsequent employment can invoke caste hostility. Often it is expressed in caste and communal violence against Harijans. This violence goes beyond the concept of limit-situation and is an example of out and out oppressive action taken against Harijans and in violation of Indian Constitution.

Most of the communal violence in Gujrat, Maharashtra, Ahmedabad, Bombay,[49] and in other parts of India show a pattern of caste resistance toward Harijan progress. Sometimes this violence is directed toward the State but it comes from anti-Harijan feelings. The upper castes fear that the advancement and participation of the lower castes may worsen their own social and political position.[50] And yet the gains made by the Harijans through reservations and Constitutional guarantees are insignificant when contrasted with the position of rest of the population. In 1971 literacy rate of general population was 29.35 where as that of the Harijans was only 14.71.[51] In 1981 literacy rate of the general population went up to 36.17 and that of the Harijans to only 21.38%(1981 Census data). However, as Jacob Aikara[52] points out, the literacy statistic for the general population is for the population *including* the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If these two groups had been excluded from the general population the difference in literacy would be greater. The relatively great advance of Harijan literacy continues to lag behind the population average.

The caste resistance finds expression in the way the school authorities treat Harijan children. Recently Joan P.Mencher in her study of a village in Tamil Nadu reports that no Harijan student was allowed to pass the 10th standard until 1970.[53] Although this might be an isolated incident, one often finds discouragement of Harijan students by caste Hindu teachers.[54] Mencher describes a situation faced by some Harijan children in Tamil Nadu:

> If a Harijan child does manage to complete S S L C and wants to go for higher education, he still has several hurdles to get over. This is particularly true in Tamil Nadu. Often village officers and local school officials make it difficult for a child to get the necessary certificates by saying that his family is poor and has less than the maximum amount of land allowed in order to qualify for a government scholarship to college. Indeed many village officers advise Harijan parents that it is not good to send their children for higher education.[55]

Another study by the Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Co-operation in 1975 found that ill-treatment by teachers and the high-handed arrogant and aggressive attitude of schoolmates belonging to the upper caste, caused 23 per cent of Harijan children to drop out.[56]

Although the Constitution guarantees Harijans protection against caste violence and discrimination, the enforcement machinery for this guarantee is weak. The members of the law enforcing agencies, historically, have been members of the upper castes. Also, because those who have the power to formulate and enforce public policies are those who benefit from the caste barriers and socio-economic disabilities of Harijans, enforcement falters.[57] They enforce Government policies half-heartedly.

A casual visitor to the rural India would soon realize that Untouchability is still a fact of life. Harijans are still treated as "pariahs" by the upper castes. Even educated Harijans are victims of caste prejudices and discrimination. Their educational or employment status may warrant equality, but they may find that their social origin takes precedence over achieved status. As long as caste resistance towards Harijans remains, and the concept of pollution remains in Hinduism, Harijans will face severe limit-situations. Dilip Hiro describes this situation very well:

> The burden of untouchability involves more than mere physical avoidance. It is also a general feeling that Scheduled Caste people are inherently and irretrievably inferior and this inferiority should guarantee both social and economic advantages to the majority higher status population.[58]

Andre Beteille also argues in this connection,

> Also deeply imbedded at least in the popular mind, is the notion of inherited inequality. These ideas have been reinforced by vested interests of the upper castes in their day by day relationships with Harijans, concerning especially such matters as wages and agricultural employment.[59]

As long as this type of limit-situation continues, education will not bring in the desired social change for majority of the Harijans.

G. Bonded Labour

Although bonded or forced labour in India was abolished under the Constitution of India, many Harijans continue to be bonded in service of the upper castes. This occurs when a person pledges his labour or the labour of his family against a sum of money borrowed. The obligation of the pledger or his nominee is absolved only when the debt is discharged. Until that time the person or his family member must work for his creditor for low wages. Since he can save little money, he has to depend on someone else in his family to procure the sum needed to release him from bondedness and this is seldom possible. The relationship lasts for months and sometimes for years, occasionally for an entire life-time and may follow the male heir.[60] Two years after the passage of the Bonded Labour (Abolition) Act of 1976, the Gandhi Peace Foundation undertook a survey of debt bondage in 1000 villages in 10 States and found that about 2,600,000 people were bonded labourers.[61] Of them 62% were Untouchables and 25% Scheduled Tribes.[62] Since children inherit their parent's debts, they must continue in the service of their landlords. Thus the Harijan offspring of "bonded parents" have all obligation to pay their parents' debt. This prevents their efforts toward education and emancipation.

H. Lack of Job Opportunities

Another factor that severely curtails the chances of Harijan socio-economic advancement is the lack of job opportunities for them in the modern sector. Most white collar jobs in India are nominally open to all, irrespective of caste differences, and selection is based on education and personal merit. However, the upper castes obtain most of the positions and the Scheduled Castes end up in jobs that are considered inferior by the caste Hindus. John Ogbu[63] gives two reasons for this. First, the upper castes have had a head start in education and are therefore more likely to posses higher educational qualifications for the open postions. Second, traditional caste barriers intrude into the modern Indian economic system to prevent members of Scheduled Castes from getting jobs for which they are qualified if these are outside their traditional ascribed occupations. Ogbu calls this the "job-ceiling." He says:

> Thus a job ceiling exists in modern India to deny members of the Scheduled Castes equal opportunities to benefit from education as the upper castes do. In both rural village and urban centers, Indian society places a lower value on the academic credentials of Scheduled Castes and denies them employment in jobs commensurate with their education.[64]

There are virtually no modern wage-earning job in the economic structure of rural India where majority of Harijans live. Even if there were, they would be grasped immediately by members of the upper castes through personal influence and family connections. Therefore, educated Harijans may end up doing menial jobs or working as agricultural labourers. Therefore, they cannot pass on new job skills and associated status to their children. The more daring and adventurous Harijans may move to an urban center. There they are forced to accept those jobs which are available to them. These are most often jobs which are not wanted by the upper castes. This is why there is a concentration of Scheduled Caste members in the category of sweepers. Ogbu again says:

> They [Harijans] are rarely hired for jobs except for those positions traditionally held by members of their group. They are excluded from better jobs in private industry, partly becasue employees in such industries are hired through regional caste and family connections. But the Scheduled Castes are excluded mainly because of their ritual status.[65]

In this connection, Isaacs says: "Few caste Hindus would knowingly hire a member of the Scheduled Caste for more than a menial job."[66] Under such circumstances there is little incentive or motivation for Harijan parents to make the financial sacrifices necessary for the continued education of their children. Bhagwati describes this situation well: "The low castes regard education as a waste in a situation where non-traditional employment is unlikely: "better" jobs are obtained through urban contacts and networks not usually available to the very poor."[67] This type of job-ceiling limits benefits derived from investment in their children's education, few Harijans encourage the continuation of their children's education.

Government jobs are the only hope for advancement by Harijans. Because of the protective discrimination law they are assured a percentage of jobs in each category of employment in the government service. But, because of their relative lack of educational qualifications, and because of the social discrimination meted out to them, most Harijans end up in the lowest category of civil service employment. The majority of the jobs demanding

skills and training are monopolized by the upper castes, through their better training, social connections and higher educational qualifications in prestigious courses and institutions, and Harijans must find jobs that are not desired by members of the upper castes. Government policies have done little to change this situation. In 1961-62 91.4% of all sweepers were Harijans while their percentage in the population was only 14.7.[68] Isaacs also notes that the city of Bombay employs 20,000 Ex-Untouchables in its sanitation department, who are the city's collectors of trash and garbage.[69]

Faced with this job-ceiling, Harijan children are not motivated to persevere in their school work. Ogbu says: "The perception of schooling as it relates to limited future opportunities may be largely unconscious for many caste minority group members, but it is an important factor in their relative lack of serious attitude and efforts in school."[70]

I. Low Success Rate in Higher Education

Another major factor in the lack of socio-economic progress by the Harijans through education and better-paying occupations, especially in the professional categories, is because of their low success rate in higher educational institutions. In India most of the higher status and well-paid jobs require a University degree, some times several degrees. Therefore, the ameliorative government schemes have included post-matric scholarships, stipends and hostel accommodations for Harijan students who wish to attend institutions of higher education. In addition to this, Harijan students are exempted from paying fees in all institutions of higher learning. A percentage of registrations are reserved for them in the medical, engineering and other professions. Scholarships and stipends are a major part of the government inducement for education of Harijan students. In the 27 years since the inception of the plan, in 1944, 57.79 crores of Rupees (about $570 million) has been paid to some 1,150,031 Scheduled Caste Students[71] (1971 figures) with which to gain their education.

These financial inducements have encouraged many Harijan students to enrol in higher education institutions. In 1950-51 there were only 1,316 scholarship holding Scheduled Caste students in colleges. This number has grown to 157,000 by 1970-71.[72] In spite of this

increase in the number of the scholarship recipients, the percentage of Scheduled Castes students enroled in higher education continues to be smaller than their percentage of India's population.[73] Although reservation of seats and provision of scholarships does attract Harijan students to colleges and universities, most fail to complete the courses in which they have enroled.

Data from various parts of India indicate that between one-half and two-thirds of the Scheduled Caste students who enroled in the post matric (post-secondary) courses failed to complete their courses.[74] The drop-out rate is estimated at 40% and could be as high as 80% for some courses.[75] (62 percent for medicine and 45 percent for engineering).[76] Although the overall drop out rate for non-Scheduled Caste population is not available, we have data from Maharashtra which compares the Scheduled Caste drop out against the general student population. In a survey of the Scheduled Caste students in 10 Arts and Science Colleges of Bombay, (see table 4) Jacob Aikara found that the drop out rates for Scheduled Castes are substantially higher than non-Scheduled Caste student population for the period 1969-1973.

These data from the state of Maharashtra (for 1969-73) suggest that Harijans fail to benefit as much as they might from the educational opportunities available to them in modern India. The provision of scholarships and the reservation of seats have not changed the success or retention rate of Harijans in the higher educational institutions relative to that of higher castes. Suma Chitnis, after examining the enrolment in 57 out of 58 colleges providing graduate and post-graduate medical education indicates that seven out of 57 colleges do not have a single Scheduled Caste student enroled.[77] The remaining 50 colleges, which together provide medical education to a total of 30,790 students, have only 1,691 Scheduled Caste students, which is barely 5.49 percent of the students enroled in these 50 medical colleges.[78]

Any city college in India would show the same pattern. Findings of a parliamentary survey on the status of Scheduled Caste students in higher education in Bombay, one of the most educationally advanced cities in India, reveal their deprivation in advanced education.[79] This survey covered 2176 Sheduled Caste students (all the Scheduled Caste students studying in arts, science, commerce, law, engineering and medical colleges in the city of Bombay). Of

Table 4

Per cent Drop Out: Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Castes in Higher Education (1969-73)

	Scheduled Castes	Non-Scheduled Castes
Law	87	58
Engineering	40	30
Medicine	67	39
Arts & Science	76	56
Commerce	80	32

Source: Jacob Aikara, *Scheduled Castes and Higher Education* (Poona: Dastane Ram Chandra & Co., 1980), p. 16.

this number, 1,616 were enroled in non-professional, arts and science. The remaining 560 were enroled in professional colleges like commerce, medicine and engineering.[10] These numbers reveal how small the number of Harijan college students in India's second largest city is. It also reveals the fact that majority of the Harijan students who are enroled are in non professional courses. Only 27 per cent are enroled in professional courses.

The study also indicates that the majority of Scheduled Caste students enroled in Bombay were enroled in inferior colleges in the city.[11] The 15 arts and science colleges in the city were graded from A-D according to their students' performance in University examinations, A representing highest level of performance and D the lowest. Of 1480 Scheduled Caste students, 96% were enroled in the 5 grade D colleges.[12]

The study shows that 55% of the Scheduled Caste students in arts and science courses were clustered in one college in the D group.[13] In contrast to this only 5 Harijan students were enroled in the college at the top of the list and only 5% were enroled in colleges in Grade A.[14] The survey also indicates that 76% of the Scheduled Caste students who were enroled in arts and science colleges in the city of Bombay were clustered in colleges which produced results below the average for the University of Bombay.[15]

The Bombay study shows four aspects that impede the progress of higher education for Harijans. They are:

1. Enrolment in colleges with the lowest level of academic achievement.
2. Poor retention in programs of study.
3. Low enrolment in professional courses.
4. Poor academic performance by Harijan students in all colleges.[16]

The Bombay study has national implications for the higher education of Harijans throughout India. One is not surprised to find large number of Harijan students clustering in diploma and certificate courses. Suma Chitnis further notes that:

> The data at the national level, regarding enrolment for diploma and certificate level courses in engineering trade indicate that as many as 13,743 (13.16%) of the 104,428 trainees for diploma and certificate courses in the engineering trade belong to the Scheduled Castes. Similarly 1402 (13.83%) of the 10,135 trainees for courses in the 'nonengineering trade' and 15,145 (13.22%) of the 114,563 persons for training as craftsmen belong to the Scheduled Castes.[17]

This reflects the fact that Harijans are represented in Class III and Class IV of civil service jobs more than in Class I and II jobs. In other words, Harijans are confined to the lower categories of employment in the civil service. As Table II indicates, Education and reservation in employment have not improved their frequency of employment in the top bureaucratic positions in the country. Suma Chitnis concludes that:

> Although education facilitates occupational mobility for the Scheduled Castes, the fact that they enroled in less prestigious courses make for a situation wherein the mobility effected is largely of the character of transition from Untouchable caste to disadvantaged class."

As long as Harijans continue to attend inferior institutions, perform poorly, and enrol in less prestigious courses and institutions, mobility through educational qualifications leading to employment will be slight. It will be in the lower class. Low levels of educational achievement and the resulting clustering in low categories of employment will continue to limit the socio-economic progress of the Harijans to other levels of Indian society.

J. Avoidance of Education by Harijans

Formal education for Harijans means the escape from their traditional ascribed manual occupations.[19] But because there are only a limited number of positions available in government service, lack of qualified people among them for Class I, & II positions, and because of competition from upper castes for these positions, Harirjans do not gain significant employment in government service through education. As noted before, they have little chance of being hired at higher levels in private sector. Therefore, many educated Harijans are unemployed or wait a long time before they can find employment. Educated Harijans face this contradiction because employment in government jobs, outside of the traditional mode of employment, are almost the only attractive source of employment for Harijans. Many Harijans in rural areas do not persevere in school. Their recourse is to find employment in agricultural sector. They may choose to have a minimum of education and leave the village in search of a low level of government jobs or they stay in the village and find employment in agriculture. Most of them choose the latter option. Consequently official "unemployment" rates are low. For example, Rayappa and Grover[20] found that the work

participation rates for both Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was higher than that of the general population.[91] Visaria and Visaria also observed that except in the three Southern States (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Andhra) the incidence of unemployment among the low castes is less than for other castes.[92] One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that affluence among the upper castes allows the unemployed to be discriminating in their job search while low income families cannot afford such a luxury.[93] Also, in the lower social strata, the status of the job is not a major consideration where as in the upper strata lower status occupations are taboo.[94]

Educational achievement will not regularly provide economic rewards which are required to motivate Harijan children to take a chance on modern education.[95] In several States in India there has been a sharp increase in the wages for agricultural labour in recent years. There has been an attempt to raise the minimum wage for agricultural and unskilled labour to that of primary school teachers and lower level clerks. These economic changes reduce incentives for Harijans to obtain an education. Chauhan notes that the proportional increase in Scheduled Caste education has begun to slow down as a consequence of the rise in agricultural wages.[96] This situation holds true especially in Kerala.[97] Because of relatively higher wages for agricultural labourers, Harijan children in many parts of Kerala end their studies early. For them earning about Rs. 500 a month in their own village in daily wages is better than some unknown future earning only Rs. 500-600 a month in some distant city. The immediate takes precedence over the distant. This is an ironic job-celing in the access to modern sector for many Harijans.

K. Protective Discrimination: An Assessment

The Constitutional safeguards or protective discrimination in civil service employment is to help Harijans to consolidate the gains they have made through education by providing a per centage of available employment in the civil service for which their education qualifies them. As mentioned before, the policy of Constitutional guarantees and school and job reservations for individuals from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were institued in

1950, and were intended for a period of only 20 years, by which time it was hoped that the condition of the Harijans would have improved. Because of the slow progress of these groups toward economic betterment, the guarantees have been extended several times and now are in force until 1990. After 36 years of the provision of facilities and opportunities, the gains the specified groups have made, although appreciable, have been uneven and socially inconsequential in comparison to the general gains of the rest of the society. Although a small sub-elite among the Harijans have benefited from protective discrimination and other government policies, by and large these policies have not produced positive social change for the masses of Harijans, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. This is why the Constitutional provisions have continued to be extended. Those who have benefited from the policies of protective discrimination are mostly the better off among Harijans and other backward classes. These are the groups and persons who are more organized and have more political influence. The Mahars of Maharashtra (Ambedkar's caste), Lingayats of Mysore, Ezhavas of Kerala are examples of this. Reservation of seats provide opportunities for a small per centage of people from the Scheduled Castes to achieve mobility without having to compete directly with their more privileged peers."[1] The policy of reservation in educational institutions and employment has been aimed at removing the discrimination Harijans have been subjected to. As Malavika Karlekar puts it:

> The distribution of scarce resources within a large community has certain side effects. Consequently, the better organized and politically powerful Scheduled Castes take the lion's share of seats. By widening the gap between the under privileged and more advantaged among the community, education creates new inequalities."[2]

On the other hand protective discrimination has now resulted in great inequality among members of the Scheduled Caste communities. One can notice a wide range of inequality in Scheduled Caste education. These inequalities are in the form of interstate, inter-district, inter-sex, and inter-caste variations. For example, the literacy rate among Harijans according to the 1981 Census in Kerala is 55.96 percent while that of Harijans in in Bihar it is only 10.40 per cent. Looking at inter-caste disparity betwen various sections of Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra, Suma Chitnis points out that in 1962-63 Mahars, who made up 35.1 per cent of the Scheduled Caste population in the state, received 85.8 per cent of the total number of

scholarships disbursed.[100] In contrast the Mangs, who constituted 32.6% of the total Scheduled Caste population, received only 2.2 percent of these scholarships.[101] Because of the influence of Ambedkar, the Mahars have achieved more access to the benefits of protective discrimination policies and government employment. On the other hand the Mangs continue in their depressed condition in spite of the educational incentives and other welfare schemes for thier uplift.

Apart from the inter-state and inter-caste disparities, there is considerable disparity between male and female literacy rates. In 1981 only 10.93 per cent of the Scheduled Caste females in India were literate compared to 31.12 per cent of Scheduled Caste males.[102]This shows that education for women among Scheduled Castes has not kept pace with that of the Scheduled Caste men. This is because only the more privileged sections among Scheduled Caste population can afford the education of their girls. A majority of the Harijans need the services of their school-aged girls to supplement the family income or for domestic labour. Government policies have not helped to reduce this type of inequality among Harijans. In fact in many cases the policy of protective discrimination has been instrumental in creating gender inequalities among the Scheduled Castes. This negative aspect of the policy of protective discrimination has been seen by many scholars.

For example, Ruth Glass says that:

> The institution of protective discrimination has not brought the downtrodden people of India closer together; nor has it reduced the disparities between them. Quite the reverse. It is essentially a conservative and divisive institution, since its provisions are such that they are bound to operate on the principle "to whom that hath shall be given." By and large, it is only the "forwards" among the "backwards"--those who are already quite well off--who are able to take up the reserved places in colleges and in government service, or the economic subsidies, provided by the scheme and it is only such people, too who can manage to stand as candidates for reserved constituencies in general or state elections. Thus a few relatively well-endowed, literate individuals move upward on the social ladder by virtue of the "backward" label that is attached to their communities. But this does not improve the actual condition of these communities. For the socially mobile people follow one of two courses: They either become detached from their original milieu and discard their previous identity, or they emphasize their origin and gain prestige by adopting the role of spokespersons or leaders of "backward" groups. So thier own superior status is dependent upon the continued inferiority in the position of these groups.[103]

The system of protective discrimination also discourages risk taking and increases bureaucratic dependency. The ruling upper castes/classes of India use this as a tool of social

control. Harijans as a group have substantial voting power in India. The political parties need their votes to stay in power. One way of getting their votes and gaining their allegiance is by offering generous welfare schemes, in the name of protective discrimination. The ruling Congress party has often used this ploy to gain electoral advantage. Education, employment, reservations and representation in legislative bodies are ways of keeping individual Harijans quiet and happy.

Protective discrimination does not benefit the mass of Harijans because most of them are too poor to take advantage of it. It benefits the few reserved seat holding Harijans. Their financial and family situations are such that they can encourage and support the education of their children. For the majority, scholarships, stipends, reserved seats in higher educational institutions and in civil service employment are meaningless because they are too poor to take advantage of any of them. For this reason a majority of the reserved seats in higher educational institutions and Class I and Class II positions in civil service go unfilled. In 1977-78 in the whole of Gujrat only eight students who belonged to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes took up places reserved in postgraduate medical education.[104] This is 1% instead of the officially reserved quota of 20%.[105] The same is true in the case of employment in higher status positions. Of the total 106 professors in the medical colleges in Gujrat only one belonged to a Scheduled caste.[106] Similarly among 293 assistant professors, there were only 5 from Scheduled Castes and out of 237 tutors only 17 were from Scheduled Castes and from Scheduled Tribes.[107] Thus out of a total of 742 teaching positions only 22 were held by members of Scheduled Castes and 2 by members of Scheduled Tribes.[108]

National figures are not available. If they were available, similar picture would emerge. There is much support for the continuation of protective discrimination, which comes from the few educated and reserved seat-holding Harijans.

The representatives elected by Harijan voters are not in a position to change this or promote policy changes. Their loyalty is to the party that supports them in elections, rather than to the people whom they are supposed to represent. This again poses another limit-situation. B. P. Maurya Said:

> This system does the Scheduled Castes no good because the people in the reserved seats belong to the party in power and are often incapable persons. Although they are educated, they dare not speak out against the party in power. They do not represent their people to the party and government, but represent the party in power to the people. As for the school benefits, we do not need them in this form either. If there is a free compulsory education for all, then every person will have access to it any way. In higher education let scholarships be given where there is economic need. All our people are poor and the party in power is not solving the problem of poverty. As for the quotas in government service, there are only one to three per cent filled and they take our best people. In government service, the educated people are kept out of politics and we are left with illiterate workers. We say end these reservations. They are just a way of keeping the weaker sections week, to keep them subject to the party in power.[109]

Harijans cannot depend on protective discrimination and constitutional guarantees to change their status. They must become more politically "aggressive" to improve their group's economic and social conditions. Education and reservations will merely assist individuals and isolate Harijans in job or school categories. As L. Dushkin says: "the kind of power that will be respected in the long run will have to be generated outside the legislatures and beyond the devices of protective discrimination."[110].

Providing facilities and other assistance will not improve the academic performance of the Harijan students. The government schemes at present are simply aimed at attracting them to educational institutions, particularly institutions at the higher educational level. But the schemes cannot improve the quality of their performance or help them compete with the rest of the student population. Suma Chitnis says: "the policy of reservations is in a sense inclined in favour of condonation of poor performance standards."[111]

The Constitutional objectives of protective discrimination should be to prepare the Harijan students to compete with others. But the historical circumstances out of which they have grown were unequal and cannot help them to this equality. Government policies for the eradication of poverty through programs that encourage the poor people of India, (but not caste differences *per se*) including the Harijans to obtain more schooling have failed to bring about social change in the lives of these people.

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VI. Summary and Conclusion

This study has explored the political asumption in the Constitution of India that education will bring about the socio-economic uplift of the poor of India, in particular the Harijans or the Scheduled Castes. The study tried to seek answers to questions: Why are Harijans as a group still so far behind the general population of India in education? What limit-situations and other social restrictions are impeding their progress in education? Why have the Constitutional affirmative action programs failed to produce a positive effect on Harijan lives?

We have examined three periods in the history of India in order to find answers to these questions. We have examined the pre-British and the British period in order to find the historical anticedents to the post-independence period and look at the present limit-situations from the historical perspective. These limit-situations have led us to the discussion the concept of job-ceiling which in turn frames the answers to our questions.

We undertook an analysis of Indian society and the socio-political roots of caste attitudes. Such a discussion was necessary to understand the Harijan situation in post-independence India. This led us to examine Indian society during pre-British, British and post-independence India and the place of Harijans in these historical circumstances.

Examination of the pre-British period helped us to understand the social structure of village India, the organization of social labour and the position of Untouchables in it. We saw that the village population of pre-British India was hierarchically organized into endogamous groups, each following a particular vocation or calling in life. The Brahmins were at the top and the Untouchables at the bottom in this type of social organization. The system permitted the sharing of status, power and wealth among the three upper castes--Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisiyas. The low-caste Shudras and the Untouchables were prevented from receiving any power or wealth and status. They were required to serve the upper castes for which they were paid in kind. The Untouchables were most often employed as agricultural labourers. There were religious as well as socio-economic sanctions that prevented these low strata from participating in religious and other aspects of the socio-economic life of the village. Through

endogamy, exogamy and commensality, the upper castes maintained their social identity and ritual purity. Ownership of agricultural land, distribution of it through caste and kinship groups and the organization of social labour according to status placed Shudras and Untouchables at a permanent disadvantage. They had no opportunity to acquire any land or cattle, which were the primary means of production. Thus the village community and the caste system together provided an unalterable division of labour which in turn confined the Shudras and Untouchables to the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy of the society.

The Mughal empire with its hierarchical, bureaucratic structure contributed to the continued maintenance of this stratification and socio-economic exploitation of the poor peasantry and the landless Untouchables. The distribution of land along kinship lines and the extraction of surplus labour from the peasantry resulted in the pauperization of the small peasant and the cultivator and added to the misery of the landless labourers. The higher classes, the leading nobles of the court, the autonomous rajas and the big Zamindars--all had immense wealth, and lived in pomp and luxury. The second-grade Mansabdars, and Zamindars and small landowning classes also were reasonably well off. But the vast majority of the people, the tillers of land, and the workers in handicrafts lived in abject poverty. The Mughal system of landownership and taxation added to the exploitation of the lower strata, particularly the landless Untouchables and it further contributed to their social exclusion.

Education in such a society was only for the wealthy upper strata. It was designed to produce elites among the upper castes. Sanskrit and Arabic were used to propagate religion and the associated rituals and to maintain the tradition of learning which maintained the ceremonial status of the upper strata. Shudras and Untouchables were prevented from receiving any sort of education, religious or secular. [illegible]n, caste membership, and citizenship status, all were major forces which prevented the Shudras and Untouchables from receiving any education in pre-British India.

We have examined the British period to see the type of social change that took place in India as a result of colonial rule, and how it affected the lives of Untouchables. This led us to the analysis of colonial policy of education in India, and the type of social classes that have

emerged as a result of colonial rule in India.

The main objective of the British educational policy was to create an English-educated class in India, mostly from the upper castes, to act as intermediaries between the British and the vast illiterate Indian masses, by serving at the middle and lower levels of British administration. A small portion of upper castes who were literate under the old system of education took the new education and the benefits deriving from it. The English education enabled them to acquire positions of wealth, prestige, and power under the British administration. But on the other hand the new system of education discouraged the indigenous education and resulted in massive illiteracy among the common people. The new system of education was thus instrumental in creating a new class in the Indian society, who possessed considerable social prestige. Against this background we looked at the social situation of Untouchables and their educational situation in particular. We have seen that the British policies like land settlement, and taxation policies, especially in relation to the creation of private property in land, turned most of the Indian village population into landless and dependent labourers. This in turn reinforced the ritual inferiority of the Untouchables with economic subjugation. Thus the British policies were highly consequential for the future of the Untouchables and other lower castes.

Discussion of the social and educational situation of Untouchables led us to the examination of government policies preceding and following independence. In this connection we have examined the British policies and how they contributed to the underdevelopment of India and the ultimate misery and suffering of the peasants, artisans, craftsmen, and the landless agricultural labourers. British land policy in India caused the transformation of the rural economy in two ways. First, the British, under the Zamindari system of landownership, created a new class of rent-receiving landlords. Secondly, under the land policy of the British, land became a commodity, freely alienable. This enabled money lenders in rural India to amass immense wealth, land and power and it resulted in the emergence of a class of landlords, money lenders, and traders, all prospering at the expense of the peasants, and landless labourers. To make matters worse, India was drawn into the ever expanding system of

British capitalism, forcing her to become an agricultural appendage of industrial Britain; a dumping ground for English factory-made goods and a source of raw materials for English factories. In the absence of land reforms, and improved methods of agricultural production, agrarian economy of India reached a point of stagnation. This led to great deal of suffering among the rural population. In short, British land policy, the destruction of cottage industries, and the commercialization of Indian agriculture caused massive unemployment among low-caste artisans and craftsmen. The Majority of them were forced to move to rural areas and accept less desirable and even polluting occupations. Their socio-economic conditions imposed serious restrictions on their ability to take advantage of the limited educational opportunities open to them in British India.

British education was never intended for the masses and particularly not for the Untouchables. The British used education to consolidate their rule in India and to control the economic resources through a policy of "divide and rule." In other words, British education in India was for the domination of India, and it was not devised in consultation with the colonized. During the early stages of their administration education was given as a gift to the upper castes, who could afford it, and classes who were already the educated and privileged sections in the Indian society. British education was class education and it was highly conservative. Our data clearly indicate that because of the class nature and conservatist British education, the masses, particularly the Untouchables, did not benefit from it. Even when educational opportunities became availabe to them, Untouchables as a group could not take advantage of the new opportunities because of the upper caste resistance and due to their lack of economic resources. Although the order of the Governor-in-Council gave the Untouchables first victory in their attempt for admission in government aided schools in 1858, caste resistance continued to impose a limit-situation. Where ever they gained entry, they were invariably made to sit separate from the caste Hindu children, and often outside the classroom.

This upper caste resistance and harassment led to the opening of separate schools for Untouchables. But these were measures taken to accommodate the caste Hindus rather than

help the Untouchables to improve their condition through education. These Separate schools provided inferior facilities and resulted in poor educational achievement among students. This was a serious situation that limited the progress through education of Untouchables.

We examined the post-independence period to see the series of social changes that have taken place since the 1950's, and how far these changes have affected Harijan lives. Our analysis has indicated that caste has undergone major changes during the last several decades. Today caste is no longer practised with its former rigidity based on pollution and Untouchability. Modern industrialization, transportation, and urbanization have made it necesssary for members of different castes to interact and associate more closely. But caste continues to be a major influencing factor in people's social life. Although Untouchability is constitutionally abolished, Harijans continue to be subjected to a number of socio-economic disabilities because of the caste/class structure of Indian society. Our analysis of post-independence India indicated that education in India, as in British period, continues to be a class privilege. Because of the deprived economic condition of the Harijans, majority of them are not in a position to take advantage of the educational opportunities open to them in post-independece India.

However, the Backward Classes Movement of the early 1900's gave incentives for the Untouchable leaders to fight for the cause of the Untouchables. This led to the protective measures for the socio-economic programs of Untouchables in the Government of India Act of 1935. This Act became the basis of the future Constitutional affirmative action programs which helped Harijans in post-independence India. Government of India Act of 1935 also led to the abolition of Untouchability in post-independence India and a number of provisions in the Constitution for the removal of traditional disabilities imposed on Harijans by the upper castes. In addition, the Constitution empowered the states to enact legislation for the socio-economic and educational advancement of the weaker sections including the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. In this connection we have specifically examined the nature of the efforts of Gandhi and Ambedkar to improve the socio-economic condition of Harijans. Although Gandhi and Ambedkar differed in their approach to Harijan

problems, their eforts improved the condition for Harijans in modern India through the Constitutional provisions. The central and state governments have spent large amounts of money for the socio-economic advancement of Harijans. It remains the case, however, that these policies of the State have had a very limited success in undermining the social disabilities suffered by the Harijans.

Education has been one of the major avenues through which Government has been trying to accomplish this. Nearly four decades of educational planning and spending has left a majority of the Harijans still behind the general population of India in terms of educational attainment. This led us to the primary concern of our study: Why have Constitutional provisions and other Government Policies failed to produce positive results? Why are Harijans still behind the general population in educational achievement? What are some of the important situations that limit the progress of education among them?

We attempted to answer these questions. In this connection we examined the following limit-situations that have caused or resulted in the policy failure.

1. Class nature of Indian education.
2. Lack of structural changes in the society.
3. Poverty of Harijans.
4. Lack of adequate economic base.
5. Family background.
6. Caste resistance towards Harijan socio-economic mobility.
7. Bonded labour.
8. Low success rate in higher education.
9. Inequalities resulting from protective discrimination.

These situations in combination led to little achievement in education among Harijans, defeating the Constitutional provisions and other government policies. Our examination of education and employment of Harijans in post-independence India clearly shows that government policies for Harijan socio-economic improvement through education have produced little. In the vain hope, that these actions will bear fruit if maintained in place for longer period, Constitutional provisions in respect of Harijans or Scheduled Castes have been extended till 1990.

Government policies so far have attempted to replace ascription with achievement without making major structural changes in the socio-economic and political institutions of

India. But the meritocratic principle in the Indian context, especially, its institutionalization via schooling, is inegalitarian since it favours those with morer education, higher income and better training in the use of language.[1] All these factors operate to help those at the top and handicaps those at the middle and bottom levels.[2] Government policies have been aimed at equalizing the educational services for Harijans, who have had a long history of multiple social handicaps, lack of good education being one of these. Although government policies, in theory, have opened up educational institutions for Harijans, and they have been given financial incentives to pursue educational goals, their lack of an economic base (as a result of their past position in Indian society) still resrticts their effort to compete with the upper castes/classes for educational benefits on an equal basis. As we have seen, governmeent policies have only been an effective encouragement to those Harijans who have the financial and family means to be able to support for the continued education of their children. Government policies have done little to change the social, and economic position of most Harijans. As Gusfield aptly points out,"if groups seeking to enter middle level and elite positions of the society seek to use educational channels as vehicle of mobility, they are handicapped by the very fact of past position."[3]In the absence of major structural changes to the socio-economic and political institutions of the country, education cannot do much by itself to change the socio-economic condition of Harijans.

Education can help the process of social change when it is allowed to work in combination with social, economic and political factors, ie., by altering the traditional social, economic, and political relationships. If certain economic, social and political changes paralleled the planned changes in the educational sector and in the social structure then education can lead to social change. Under such circumstances, education can disseminate and cultivate knowledge, skills, and values for changing the socio-economic and political system. "Cultural action" (see p. 102) would be another way of using education to directly benefit Harijans politically and economically

The examination of all three historical periods has revealed that because of the limit-situations and job-ceiling a majority of the Harijans have been unable to translate the

educational opportunities into economically rewarding jobs in modern sector employment. Due to the caste/class structure of the Indian society Harijans have been unable to claim their proportional share of the social energy and wealth in the country. Formal education has done little to change this situation. Therefore, Harijans as a group now place little value on the formal system of education. This does not mean that individual Harijans have not taken advantage of the opportunities. [On the contrary, many have taken advantage of the education as a vehicle for mobility. Nonetheless, this situation has been insignificant in regard to collective change or progress].

This study indicates that historically, education has been a commodity which could be afforded only by the rich and upper classes of the Indian society. More over, schooling in India has never been available on a universal basis. Since it was minimal in the past, it has never functioned as a vehicle for social mobility in India's history.

Formal education in India may reinforce the class difference and socio-economic disparity rather than reducing them. The traditional disadvantages derived from a low-caste status and lack of economic resources have limited the chances of Harijans in succeeding in a caste/class biased society. As Jagdish Bhagwati points out, the participation rate of the lowest-income groups in India in primary education has been much lower than that of the higher income groups for the following reasons.

1. The opportunity cost (of lost wage or lost labour) of primary education is higher.
2. The benefit from primary education is lower.
3. The private rate of return to them from such education is therefore lower.
4. The cost of capital, against which such rate of return must be compared, is higher than for the higher income and caste groups.[4]

Since majority of the Harijans fall into the lowest-income groups, their access to primary education and later on to secondary education is very limited. The subsequent consequences of this fact have been serious. Their lack of suitable educational qualifications has forced them to accept less socially desirable jobs. The heavy concentration of Harijans in the Class IV and sweepers category of civil service may be attributable to this.

Indian education in its present form and content heavily favours the upper strata of the society. The class nature of Indian education and the hierarchical organization of schools,

all work for the advantage of the elite sections of Indian society. Under these conditions, education cannot bring changes for the betterment in the position of the poor or lower sections. The planners and policy makers have failed to see that education is very much a part of the socio-economic and political system that sponsors it. They are either unable or unwilling to see that its form and content heavily favour the sponsoring class. The system, as it is, favours the English-educated upper class elites who continue to wield political and economic power in the country. Through a process of early selection and mass examination[5] majority of the people, including the Harijans are barred from elite education which leads to top bureaucratic positions in the country. Education functions as a powerful force in the distribution of power in the society through recirculation of elite roles. The different types of private exclusive schools in the country offer routes of "sponsored mobility" to elite jobs.[6]

In so far as the rural population is concerned, education has been successful in providing social mobility largely to the middle castes of the rural society who gain political dominance under the adult franchise system and have become economically stronger by utilizing the facilities offered by the government such as National Extension Service Blocks and various other schemes for rural development. In the case of landless rural Harijans, the state "sponsored mobility" or Constitutional affirmative actions have produced only minimal effects.

The policy of the government (allowing private enterprise in education) has made education the privilege and prerogative of a small minority of the upper classes. Organization of schools along caste, class and communal lines harmonizes with the social stratification of Indian society. The existence of the exclusive public schools, the private English medium schools and the large number of primary and secondary schools run by local Boards and Government, clearly indicates that educational institutions reflect and reproduce the inequality in the society. Although educational opportunities are open to all those who want to take advantage of them the richer sections of the society get the better quality education, admission to the professional and technical courses, and thus become more able to exploit opportunities in the country to improve and succeed in public examinations. This type of

stratification among educational institutions reflects the hierarchical nature of Indian society. Since Harijans are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, they are the first victims of such a system.

The Constitution of India formally assures formal justice and equality of opportunity for all citizens including Harijans. Education is one of the tools to achieve this. The underlying assumption has been that expanded educational opportunity will remove the traditional intellectual and social disabilities of Harijans and equip them with the skills necessary to gain modern employment, economic independence and social status. However, education and social reproduction theories challenge the validity of these assumptions. So does the direct data from India from 1950 to the present. The low status of Harijans is the result of the political, economic and social functioning of modern India's social structure. What the planners and reformers have done is to "reform" education, by mostly quantitatively expanding it, without making provisions for undermining the existing stuctures of social class and power. They have attempted to bring about changes in the socio-economic condition of Harijans by altering the functioning of basic social, political and economic institutions by adding to the educational system. Their success will be limited because the functioning of the educational sector and educational outcomes are largely the result of the social structures of India and the way it is changing rather than the reverse.[7] As Karuna Ahmed puts it, "formal education is a social product. Its form is determined by the type of social change which the rest of the society is undergoing."[8] The class education, the hierarchy of educational institutions and the structural variation in the standard and quality of education received by different group of students are all caste/class based in Indian society. As long as the Indian society remains as presently stratified, opportunities will not be equal. Unless certain other forces are unleashed to promote equality, education alone cannot achieve social change.[9] Under these circumstances, government policies for Harijan uplift through education are

bound to fail because of both the form of India's historically evolved social structure (its limit-situations and job-ceiling in the modern sector of the economy) and the inadequacies of the liberal theory of education and social change on which the Constitutional provisions were based.

End Notes

1 Joseph Gusfield, "Educational and Social Segmentation in Modern India," in *Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems* Edited by Joseph Fischer (Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1970), p. 259.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

4 Jagdish Bhagwati, "Education, Class Structure and Income Equality." *World Development* Vol. 1 (1973), p. 25.

5 Krishna Kumar, "Reproduction or Change? Education and Elites in India." *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 20 (1985), p. 1280.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Henry M.Levin, "The Limits of Educational Planning," in *Educational Planning and Social Change*, Report on an I.E.P.Seminar (paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1980), p. 36.

8 Karuna Ahmad, "Towards a Study of Education and Social Change," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 14 (1979), p. 157.

9 *Ibid.*, P. 161.

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